

MIROSLAV BÁRTA

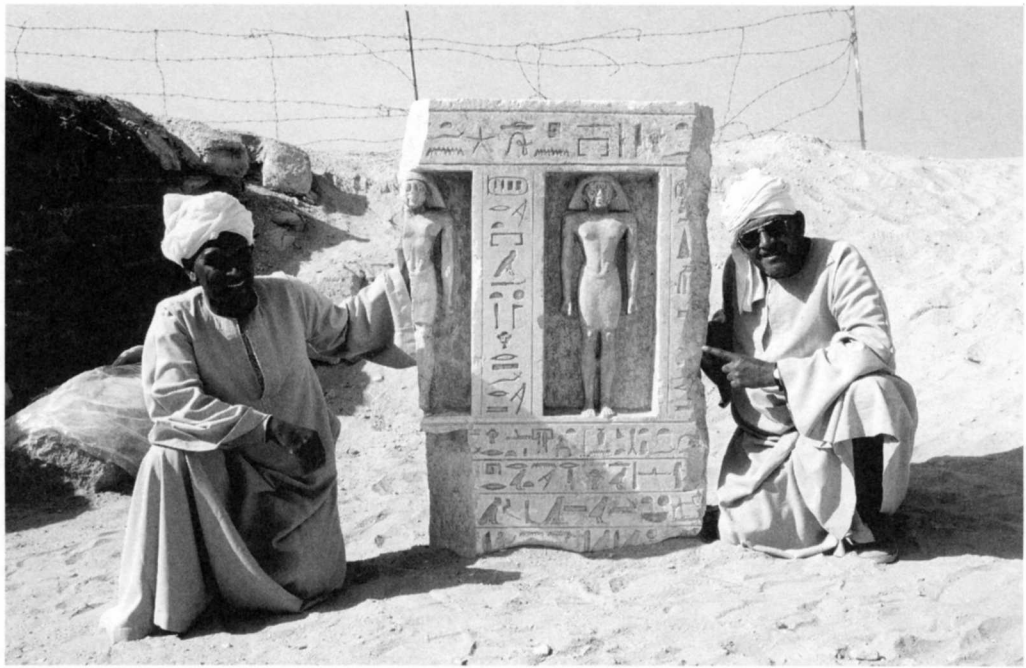
ABUSIR V



The Cemeteries at Abusir South I

SET OUT

PRAHA



Reis Talaal and Ahmad el-Kerety, Abusir South, 2000

EXCAVATIONS OF THE CZECH INSTITUTE OF EGYPTOLOGY

ABUSIR V

The Cemeteries at Abusir South I

MIROSLAV BÁRTA

**with a contribution by Viktor Černý
and Eugen Strouhal**

Reviewed by Miroslav Verner and Vivienne Gae Callender

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PREFACE

The area of what is nowadays known as Abusir South was until recently beyond the sphere of interest of most Egyptologists. To the south are the splendid monuments of the Saqqara necropolis, but Abusir South lies in the shadow of the Early Dynastic mastabas to the east and is unable to compete with the pyramids of the sun kings at Abusir to the north.

It was explored for the first time, though rather superficially, by the Lepsius expedition to Egypt in 1842-1845. *En route* from Giza to Saqqara, K. R. Lepsius paused here to excavate a pillared hall in the tomb of Fetekty (also known as Fetekta). Lepsius published a map of the area showing clearly the location of the tomb of Fetekty and the mound with the tombs of Ity and Kaaper (though unknown in his time).¹ South of this mound the Abusir *Wadi* is clearly visible, called by the locals *Wadi Abusiri*, a marked natural geographical division between Abusir and Saqqara (fig. 1).² Despite the discovery by Lepsius, the area continued to be ignored by the early excavators so that as late as 1897, after the extensive excavations of A. Mariette at Saqqara (fig. 2), just south of Abusir South, and the publication of the non-royal tombs discovered by Mariette by F. Vieweg and G. Maspero in 1885,³ it still does not occur on a map of the Memphite necropolis published by J. de Morgan (fig. 3).⁴

Today, the site called Abusir South is delineated by *Wadi Abusiri* to the south, to the east by the same *wadi* running northwards and the local village and cemetery of Abusir lying to the north of the escarpment of the Saqqara North plateau (see pl. 1), by the southern border of the pyramid necropolis at Abusir to the north (the pyramid complex of Neferefra and pyramid Lepsius XXV) and by an *inselberg* (the so-called Lion's hill) to the west (fig. 4).⁵

The area of Abusir South (as well as Saqqara and Abusir) consists of several geological units (geologically is this area classified as West Saqqara Plateau).⁶ A large part of the subsurface is formed by Tertiary (Upper Eocene) sediments where hard, brownish, dolomitised and silicified limestones (called *tafl* by the locals) dominate.⁷ Another characteristic is that the limestone layers (0.20–0.60 m in thickness) alternate with layers of marl intercalations.⁸ This "Saqqara limestone" corresponds with the Maadi formation. The Maadi formation was in its turn then followed by the early Pliocene Kom el-Shelul formation.⁹ On the surface are large accumulations of gravel composed of chert and gravels.¹⁰ The poor quality and fragility of the "Saqqara limestone" turned out to play an important role during the archaeological investigations at Abusir South. It severely affected the quality of the anthropological finds (due to the intensive decalcification of the bones, so that DNA analysis of individual skeletons from the family tombs was not possible) and the state of preservation of the underground structures, which in some instances it was not possible to excavate because of the safety concerns.

The first scientific exploration of the area started in 1989 when the Inspectorate of the Saqqara Zone of Antiquities was able to rescue several loose blocks from the badly looted tomb chapel of Kaaper. The Czech (then Czechoslovak) Institute of Egyptology started excavating the tomb in autumn 1991 (19. 10.–25. 11.) in order to document the state of the tomb and to conserve it in its current state. In the

same year, excavation of the tomb of Fetekty and of the cemetery around it was initiated. In 1993 (20. 2.–21. 3.), excavations continued in the area of the Fetekty cemetery and at the Lake of Abusir close by.¹¹

The results of these two excavation seasons are presented in this volume – with the exception of the pottery corpus which will be published independently. Each of the tombs is discussed separately and the archaeology, architecture, decoration, epigraphic and other significant finds (when necessary the pottery is also incorporated – mainly in connection with the dating of individual tombs) are discussed.¹² The publication finishes with a chapter on the anthropological remains. Some chapters are accompanied by several “Remarks” when it was considered necessary to include them (figs. 5–6, pls. LXXVII, LXXVIIIa).

Despite the fact that the majority of the tombs presented in this volume belonged to lesser officials, there are many features which deserve attention. For instance, several officials buried at Abusir South are also attested in other Saqqara tombs or in the Abusir papyrus archives. The circumstances of these officials thus become more lively and complex. There is also a relatively high number of female burials from Abusir South which throws a different light on the so-called secondary shafts in the cemetery. The architectural analysis of the tombs has shown that it was not possible in all cases to adopt Reisner’s classification scheme developed for the Giza material and that there is a need to compile a modified tentative classificatory system especially for tomb superstructures at Abusir and Saqqara.¹³

Since 1993, the area of Abusir South has been the subject of several new archaeological campaigns – the tomb of Qar lying to the northwest of the tomb of Kaaper,¹⁴ and the tomb of Hetepi to the east of the tomb of Ity. Their discoveries accord with previous explorations and show clearly that Abusir and Saqqara formed a single unit in ancient Egypt and that our modern division is erroneous.¹⁵ The crucial role of Abusir South seems to lie mainly in the fact that it was the last place where building activity in the area of Abusir-Saqqara necropolis ceased at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (in close connection with the development at Giza) to be resurrected at the end of the Fourth and beginning of the Fifth Dynasties. This is probably the most important contribution and testimony of the tombs published in this volume.

¹ LD I, pl. 32; no. 1 – tomb of Fetekty, 2 – an ox burial on the same mound as the tombs of Ity and Kaaper.

² See Jeffreys, Tavares, *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 149–151 and Smith, in Berger, Matthieu, eds., *Études sur l’Ancien Empire*, p. 380. For the location of individual tombs excavated by Mariette see Smith, *Appendix C (Topography of the Old Kingdom Cemetery at Saqqarah)*, in Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 390–41.

³ Mariette, *Mastabas*. A. Mariette published only preliminary reports dealing with the newly discovered tombs in Saqqara: Mariette, *RA* (1868), pp. 1–25 and Mariette, *Voyage en Égypte*, pp. 25–30 and pls. 5–11. See also Lauer, in *Mélange Mariette*, p. 29ff., Lambert, *Mariette*, p. 171ff. and Le Tourneur d’Ison, *Mariette*, p. 139ff.

⁴ de Morgan, *Carte de la nécropole Memphite*, pl. 10 – only the south-easternmost tip of Abusir South is visible in the top right corner with the “Mound of Abu Takhuna” to the east of it.

⁵ The area of Abusir South may be easily delineated with the help of the maps of the Ministère de l’Habitat et de la Reconstruction, Le Caire H 21 and H 22, coordinates 3 308 400 north and 3 306 800 south. For the inselberg: Svoboda, *Origini* 17 (1993): 170. The expression “Lion’s Hill” was introduced into the internal documentation for the first time by J. Svoboda, see Krejčí, in Bárta, Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, p. 473, note 28.

⁶ Youssef, Cherif, Boukhary, Mohamed, *NJPGA* 168/1 (1984): 127, fig. 2 and p. 136, figs. 4–5.

⁷ Said, *Geology of Egypt*, pp. 98–99; *idem*, *Subsurface Geology of Cairo*, pp. 12–13.

⁸ *Idem*, *Geology of Egypt*, p. 98; Klemm, Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche*, pp. 72–73.

⁹ Youssef, Cherif, Boukhary, Mohamed, *NJPGA* 168/1 (1984): 128–131.

¹⁰ Svoboda, *Origini* 17 (1993): 167.

¹¹ See the preliminary reports by Verner in *ZÄS* 120 (1993): 84–105; *ZÄS* 119 (1992): 123–124; *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 295–305.

¹² The tomb of Ity, the cemetery of Fetekty and the tombs at the Lake of Abusir were the subject of the author’s unpublished dissertation “Tombs of the middle and lower rank officials at Abusir South” (Charles University, Prague 1997).

¹³ This applies mainly to his classification of the chapels – Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 183ff.

¹⁴ Reports – Qar: Verner, *ZÄS* 124 (1997): 80–85; Bárta, Callender, *KMT* 7/2 (1996): 34–36; Hetepi: Bárta, Vachala, *in preparation*.

¹⁵ For the summary see Bárta, in Bárta, Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp. 331–346.

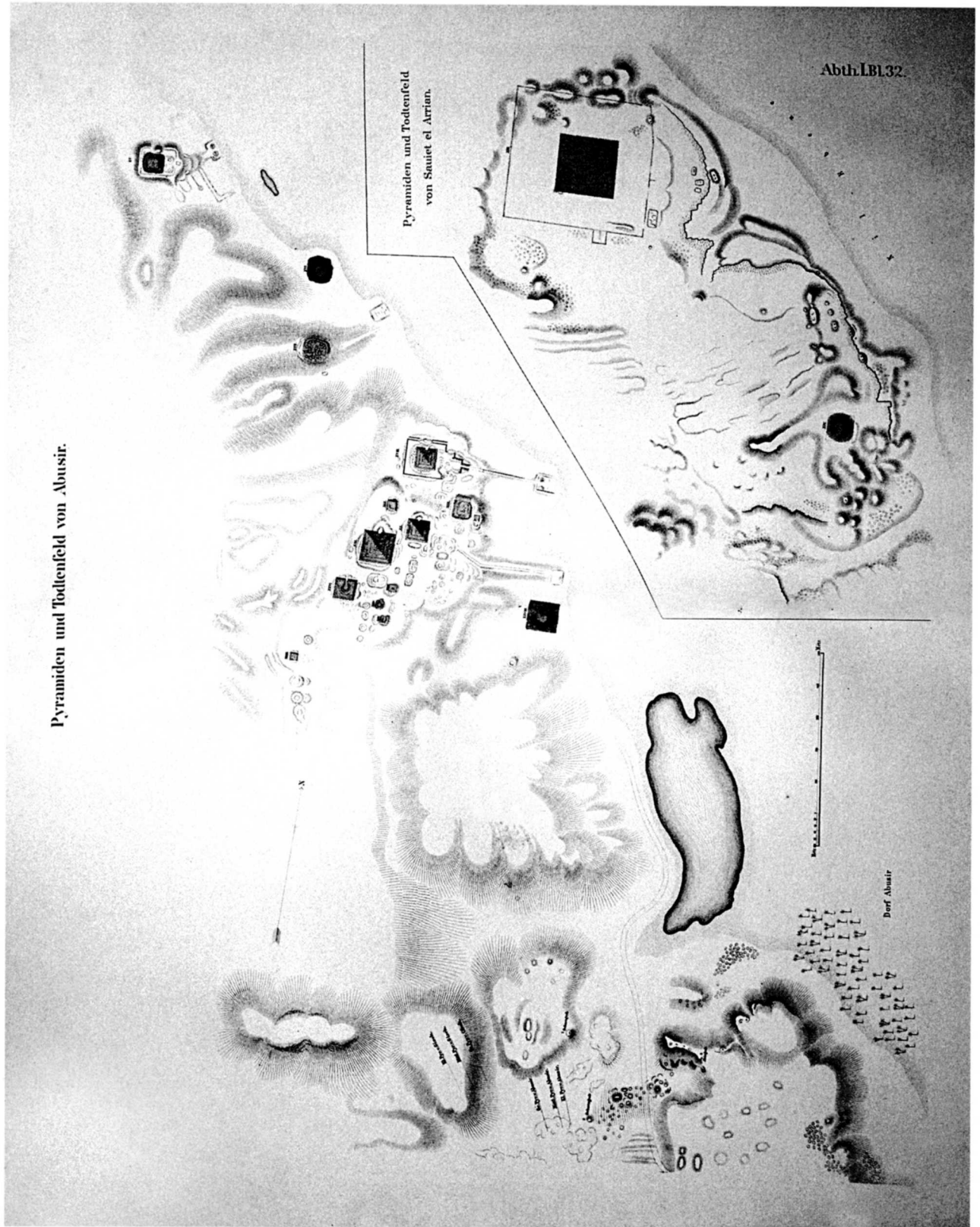


Fig. 1 – Map of Abusir published by K. R. Lepsius, No. 1 tomb of Fetekty (LD I, pl. 32)

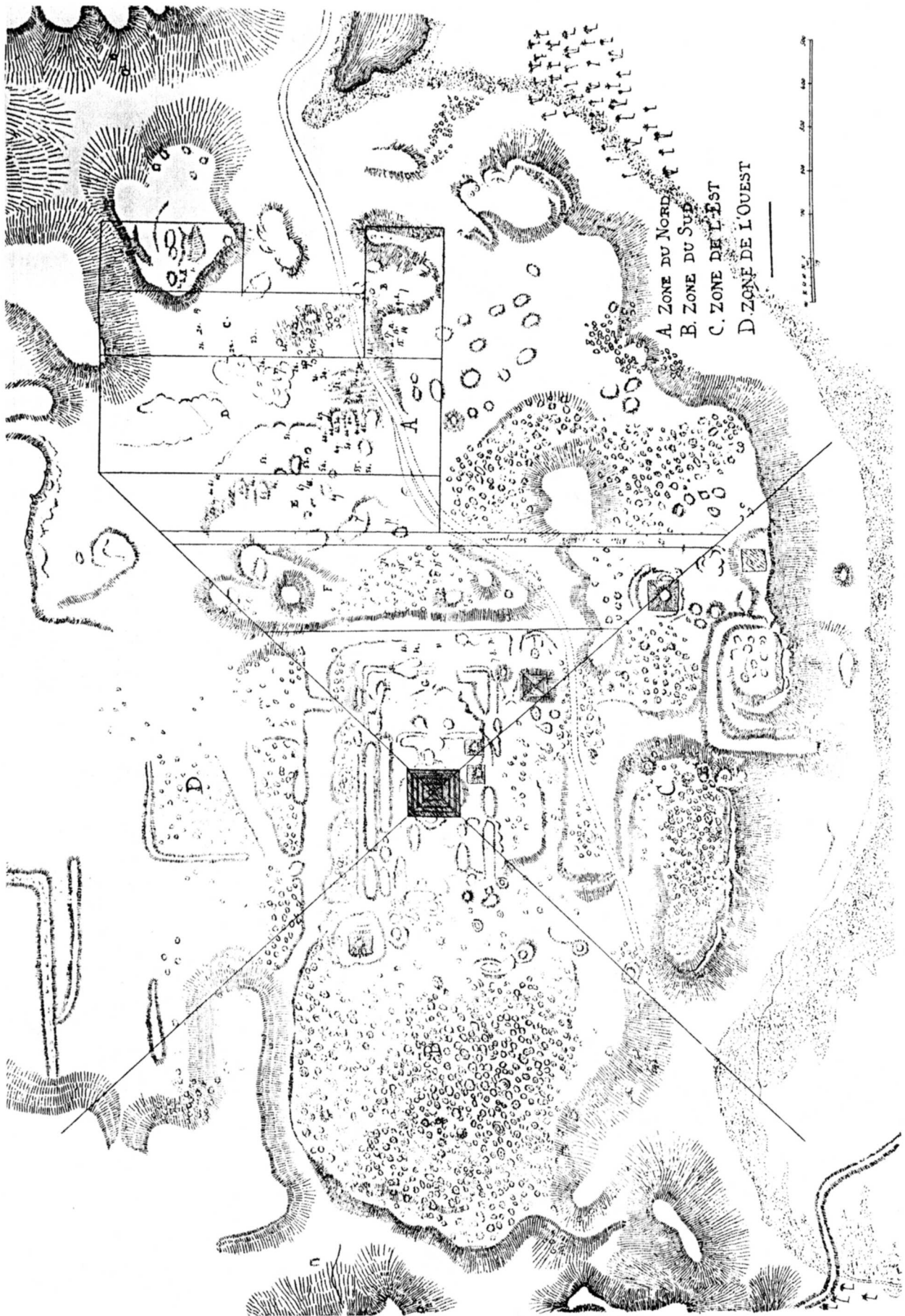


Fig. 2 – Map of Saqqara and a small part of Abusir South – top right corner (Mariette, *Mastabas*, pl. II)

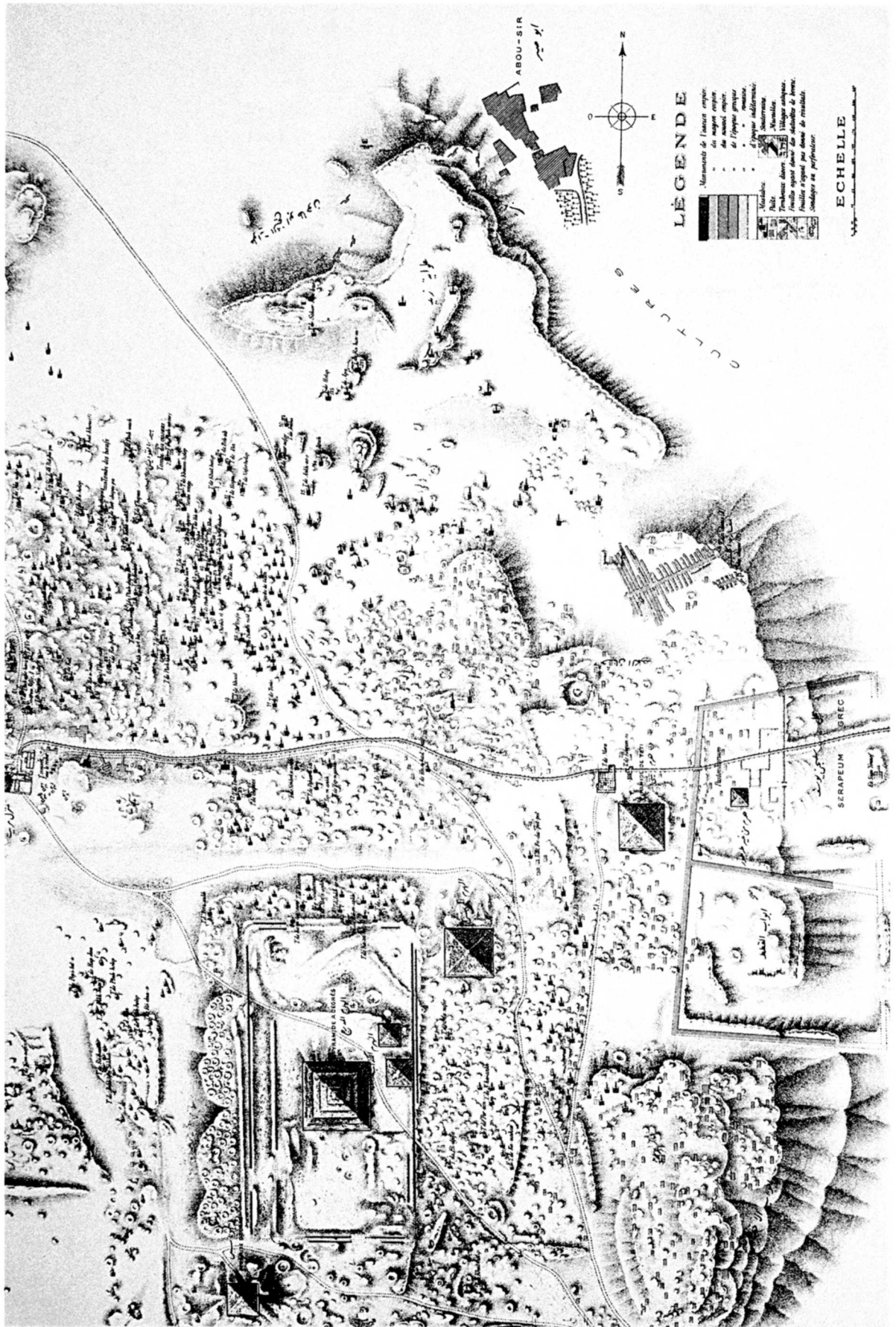


Fig. 3 – Map of Saqqara and a small part of Abusir South - top right corner (de Morgan, *Carte de la nécropole Memphite*, pl. 10)

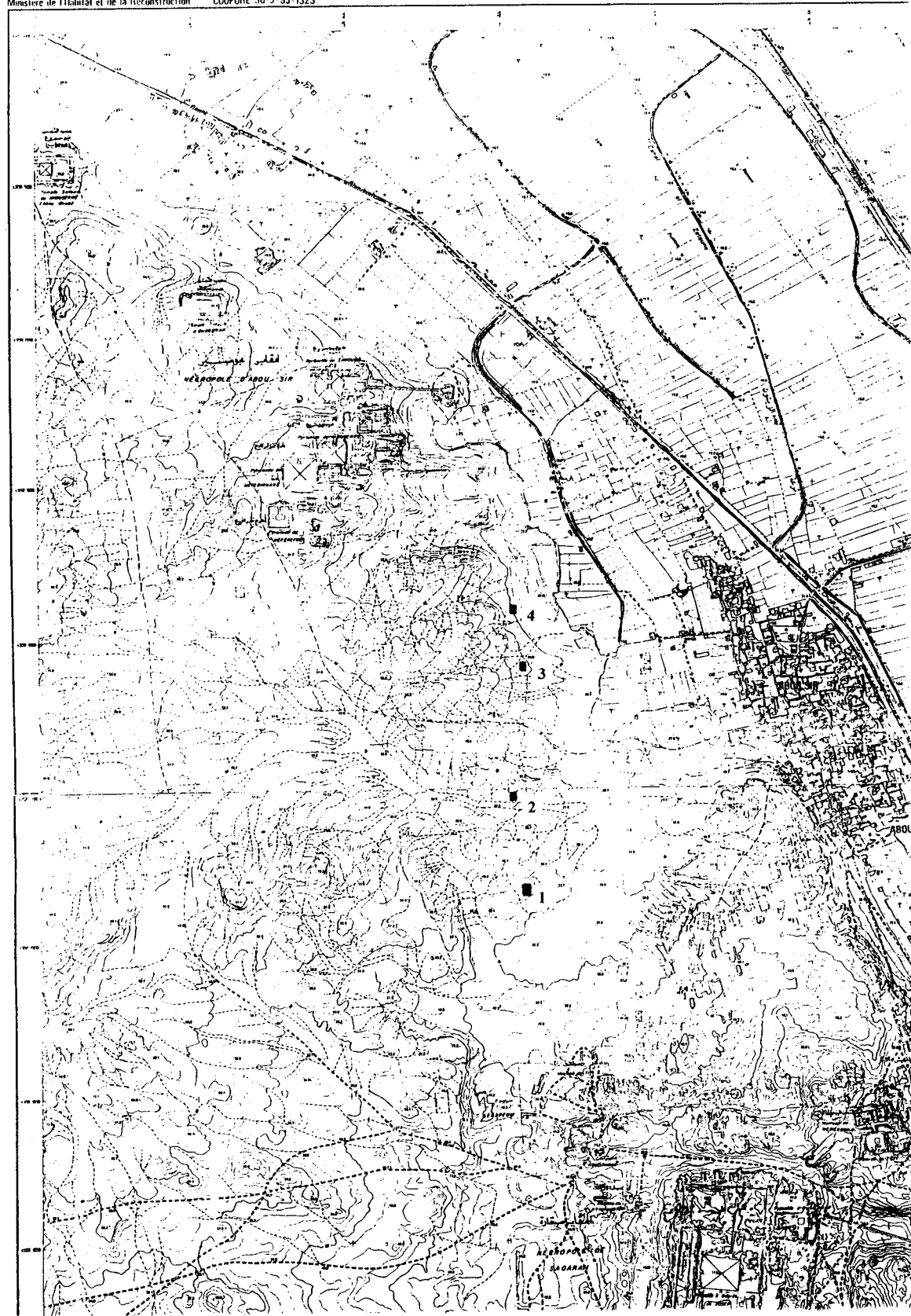
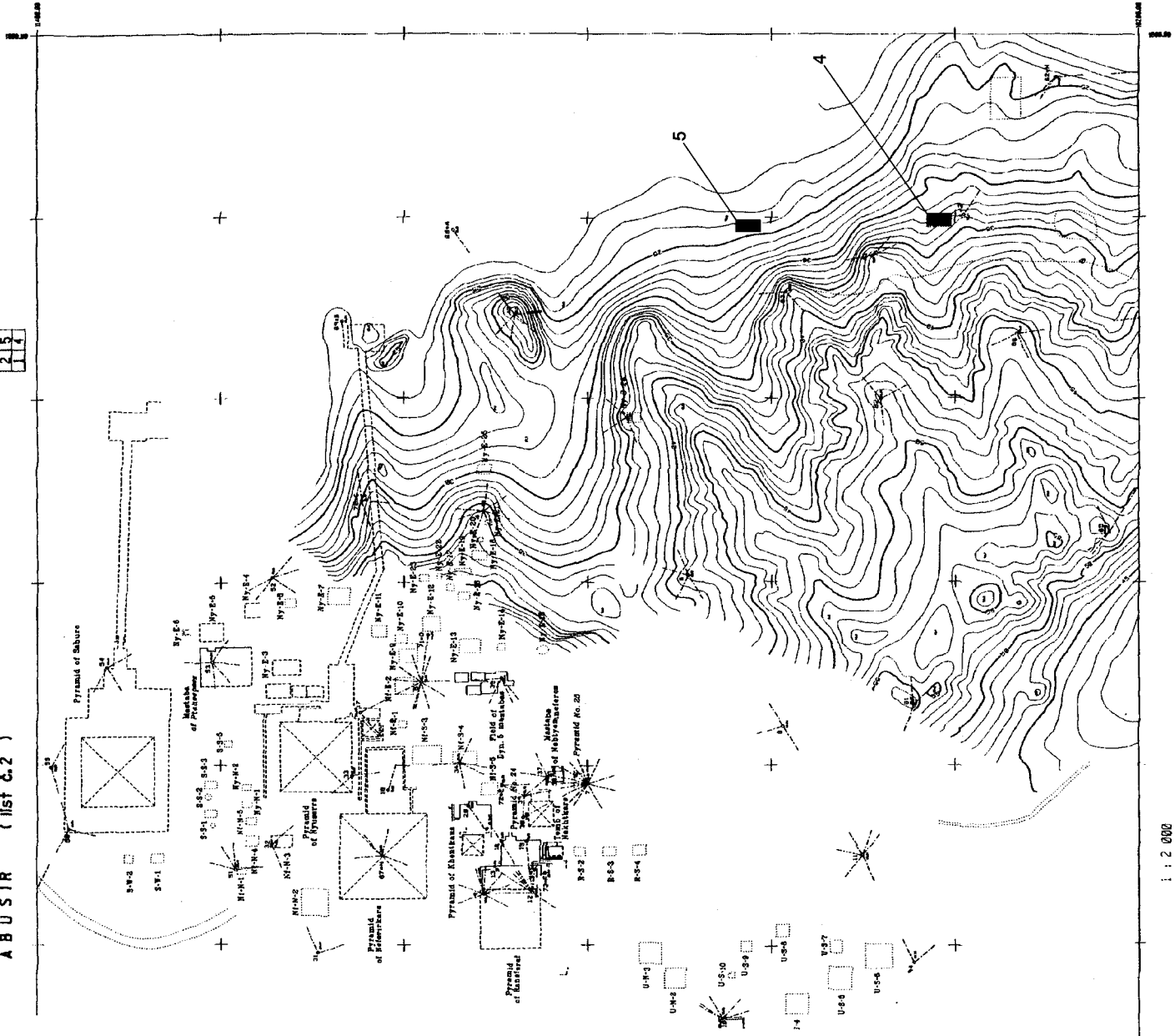


Fig. 4 – Map of the Abusir and Saqqara area with locations of tombs discussed in this volume: tombs of Ity and Kaaper (1), cemetery around the tomb of Fetekty (2), the Lake of Abusir tombs (3), supposed place of the excavations by L. Borchardt (4) (based on maps of the Ministère de l'Habitat et de la reconstruction [MHR] Topographie series 1.5000 scale, Cairo 1978, sheets H 21 and H 22)



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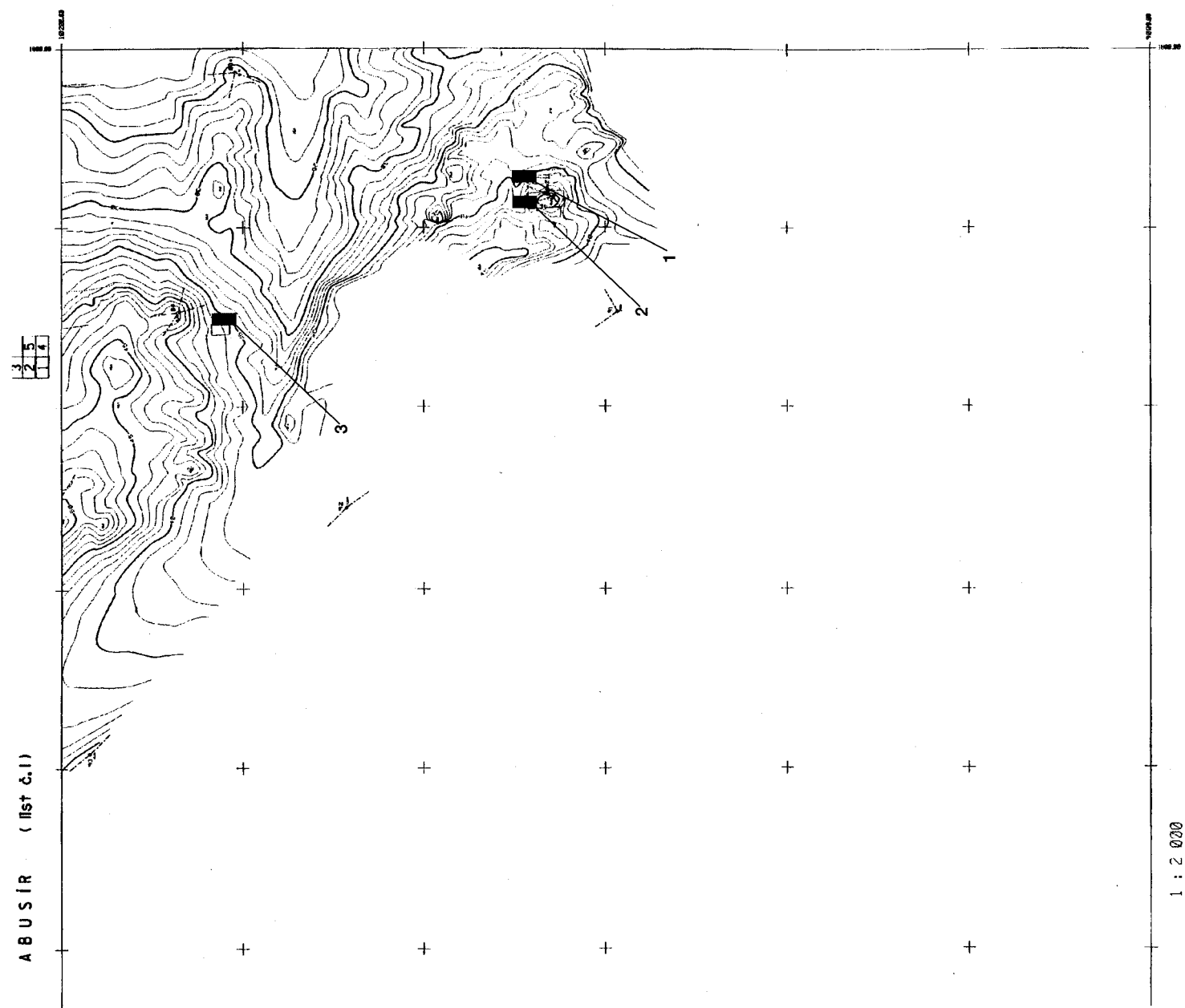


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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1) Periodicals and series

AA	– American Anthropologist, Arlington;
ABRWAW	– Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Opladen;
ACER	– The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports, Sydney;
ACES	– The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies, Sydney;
ADAIK	– Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe, Mainz;
AfO	– Altorientalistische Forschungen, Berlin;
AH	– Ancient History: Resources for Teachers, Sydney;
AHAW	– Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., Heidelberg;
AJA	– American Journal of Archaeology, Norwood;
AO	– Analecta Orientalia, Rome;
ArOr	– Archiv Orientalní, Prague;
APAW	– Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin;
ASAE	– Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, Cairo;
ASE	– Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London;
AV	– Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Mainz;
ÄA	– Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden;
ÄAT	– Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wiesbaden;
ÄgFo	– Ägyptologische Forschungen, Glückstadt;
ÄgS	– Ägyptologische Studien, Hildesheim;
Ä&L	– Ägypten und Levante, Vienna;
BA	– The Biblical Archaeologist, Washington, D.C.;
BAR	– British Archaeological Reports, Oxford;
BÄBA	– Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, Cairo, Zürich, Wiesbaden;
BdE	– Bibliothèque d’Étude, Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, Cairo;
BIFAO	– Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, Cairo;
BJS	– Brown Judaic Studies, Atlanta;
BSEG	– Bulletin de la Société d’Égyptologie, Geneva;
BTAVO	– Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Wiesbaden;
BWZKM	– Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna;
CCE	– Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne, Cairo;
CdO	– Cahiers d’Orientalisme, Geneva;
CRIPPEL	– Cahier de recherches de l’Institut de papyrologie et d’égyptologie de Lille, Lille;
DE	– Discussions in Egyptology, London;
EH	– Europäische Hochschulschriften, Frankfurt am Main;
ET	– Études et Travaux, Warsaw;
FIFAO	– Fouilles de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo;
GM	– Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen;
GOF	– Göttinger Orientforschungen, Göttingen;
HÄB	– Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim;
HdO	– Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden – Köln;
JARCE	– Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt, Boston;
JEA	– Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London;
JESHO	– Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Leiden;
JNES	– Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago;

- KFKA** – Kölner Forschungen zu Kunst und Altertum, Sankt Augustin;
KMT – A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt, San Francisco;
LÄ – Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden – Hamburg;
LingAeg – Lingua Aegyptia, Göttingen;
MÄS – Münchner ägyptologische Studien, Berlin – Mainz;
MDAIK – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Mainz;
MIFAO – Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo;
MIO – Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin;
NAWG – Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen;
NJGPA – Neues Jahrbuch für Geologie und Paläontologie Abhandlungen, Stuttgart;
OBO – Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg, Göttingen;
Orient – Report of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan, Tokyo;
Orientalia N.S. – The Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome;
OrMonsp – Orientalia Monspeliensia, Montpellier;
PA – Památky Archeologické, Prague;
RA – Revue Archéologique, Paris;
RdE – Revue de l'Égyptologie, Cairo, Paris;
RdT – Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et l'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne, Paris;
SAGA – Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, Heidelberg;
SAK – Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg;
SAKB – Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte, Hamburg;
SAOC – Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation, Chicago;
SASAE – Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo;
SDAIK – Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschrift, Mainz;
SJE – The Scandinavian joint expedition to Sudanese Nubia publications, Lund;
UGAÄ – Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Leipzig, Berlin, Hildesheim;
ZÄS – Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin, Leipzig.

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Chapter I:

THE TOMB OF ITY

1.1 Excavation

The tomb of Ity is situated on the eastward inclined slope of a low hill on the north side of the so-called *Wadi Abusiri*, about 300 m to the west of the northern tip of the North Saqqara plateau which is crowded with large tombs of the first three dynasties (fig. 1.1, pl. I).¹ The tomb was investigated during the winter of 1993, although its western panelled wall had already been uncovered during the 1991 season, in course of excavation of the tomb of Kaaper (see Chapter IV) which adjoins the tomb of Ity on the west.

1.1.1 Superstructure

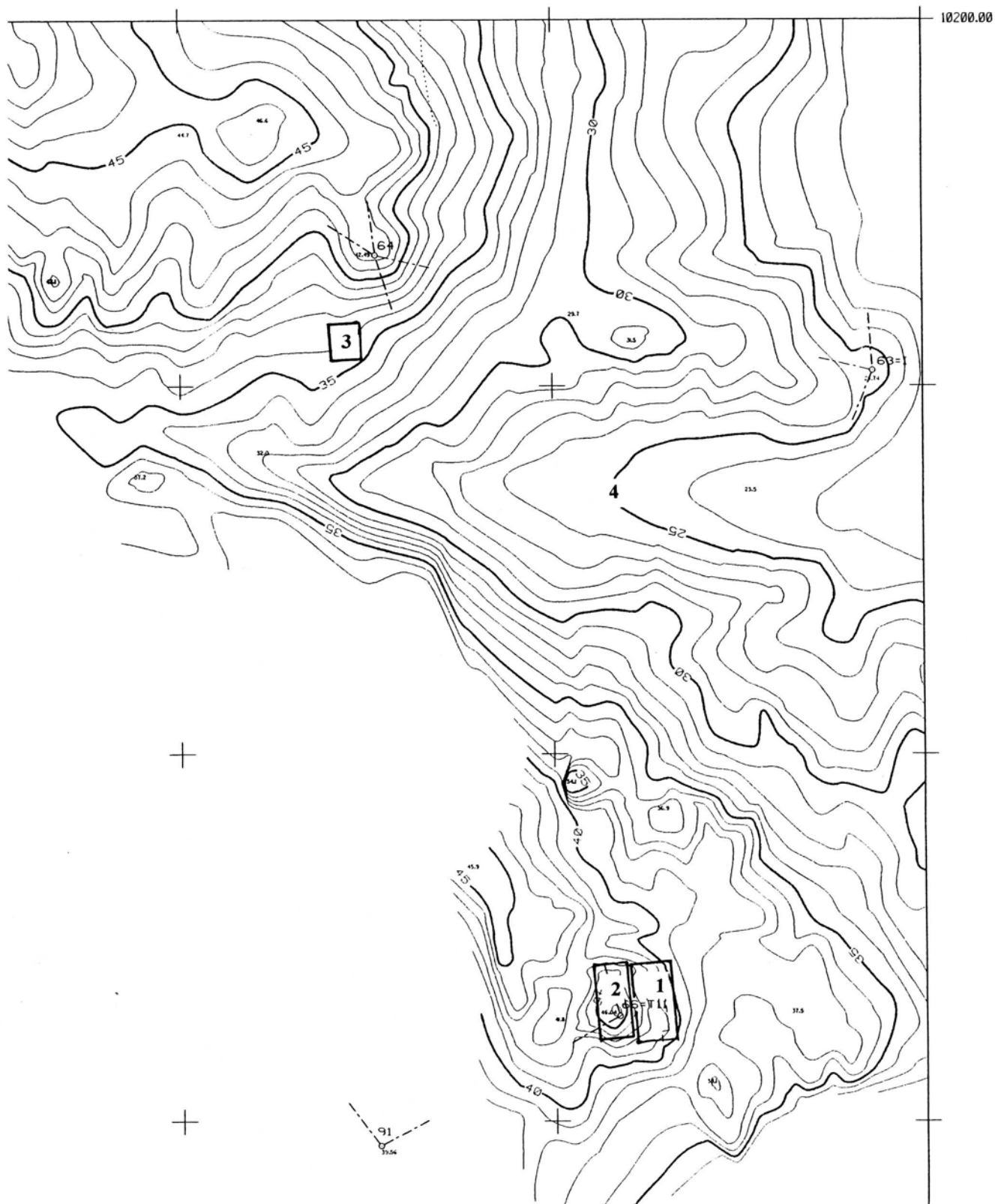
The tomb has a rectangular plan aligned in a north-south direction, and it is 45.90 m long and 20.60 m wide, thus covering an area of 941.40 sq. m. (fig. 1.2). Despite the fact that the tomb was built on an eastward inclined slope, no initial planning works appear to have been undertaken and the difference between the eastern end (39.02 m above sea level) and western end (41.20 m above sea level) of the tomb platform was thus more than 2 m. The only areas where the floor was flush were the rooms in the superstructure of the tomb, i.e. the chapel, the magazine and the serdab enclosed within the southeastern part of the tomb (pl. II). The whole superstructure, consisting of a limestone core and a mudbrick casing, was heavily denuded both by the wind and rainwater which had swept off a large portion of the mudbrick casing. The most damaged part of the tomb is on its

southeast corner, immediately to the south of the cruciform chapel. On the other hand, the best preserved part is its west outer wall (up to 1.80 m), probably due to its close proximity to the limestone tomb of Kaaper.

Soon after the start of the excavation (20. 2. – 14. 3. 1993) it became apparent that the southern half of the tomb's superstructure was entirely hidden beneath a secondarily deposited massive layer of *tafl* and sand which evenly covered this southern part of the tomb. The *tafl* layer might have come from the time when the underground burial apartment of Kaaper was under construction. Another feature, probably much later in date, was the find of a low screening wall of dry-laid limestone lumps on top of this layer. This shelter was conceivably used by the workmen who dismantled the fine limestone walls of the tomb of Kaaper. In the sand layer within and below this shelter were found broken pieces of Old Kingdom pottery and, above it, sherds from the first millenium B.C., all of which provide a tentative dating for the shelter. We also cannot exclude the possibility that the whole superstructure of Ity's tomb was originally covered with an even layer of *tafl*, and this formed the top of the superstructure. The *tafl* layer would have been able to soak up the rainwater and thus prevent it from penetrating the substructure of the tomb (for this type of construction, see Chapter II, Tomb 1).

To the north of the tomb, there were disclosed several minor mudbrick structures consisting of much disturbed single chapels and shafts and a refuse layer of Old Kingdom (Fifth – Sixth Dynasties) sherds – mainly beer jars, bread forms

¹ For preliminary report see M. Verner, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 78-84; see also *idem*, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, pp. 66-67.



2

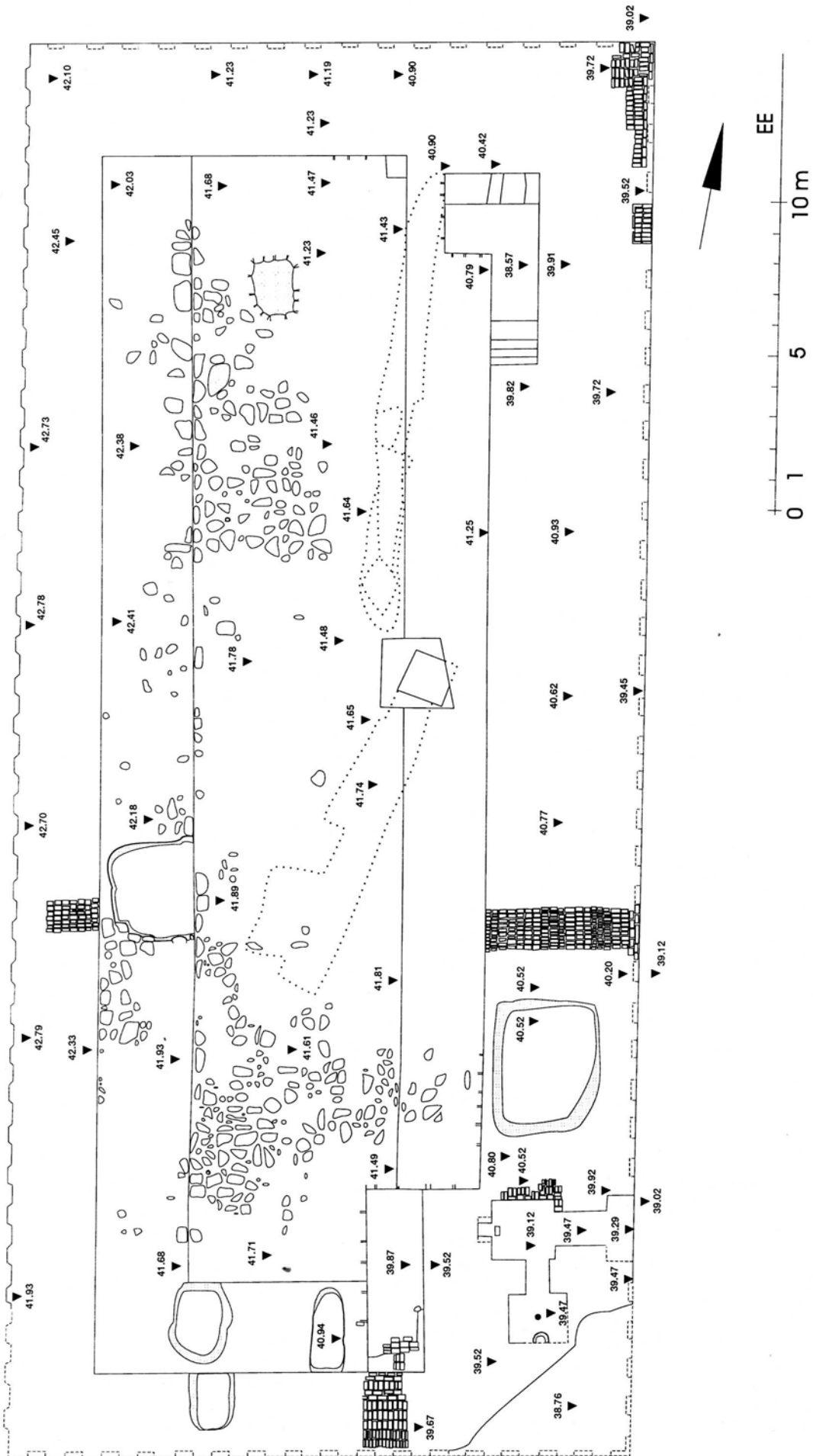


Fig. 1.2 – Ground plan of the tomb of Ity

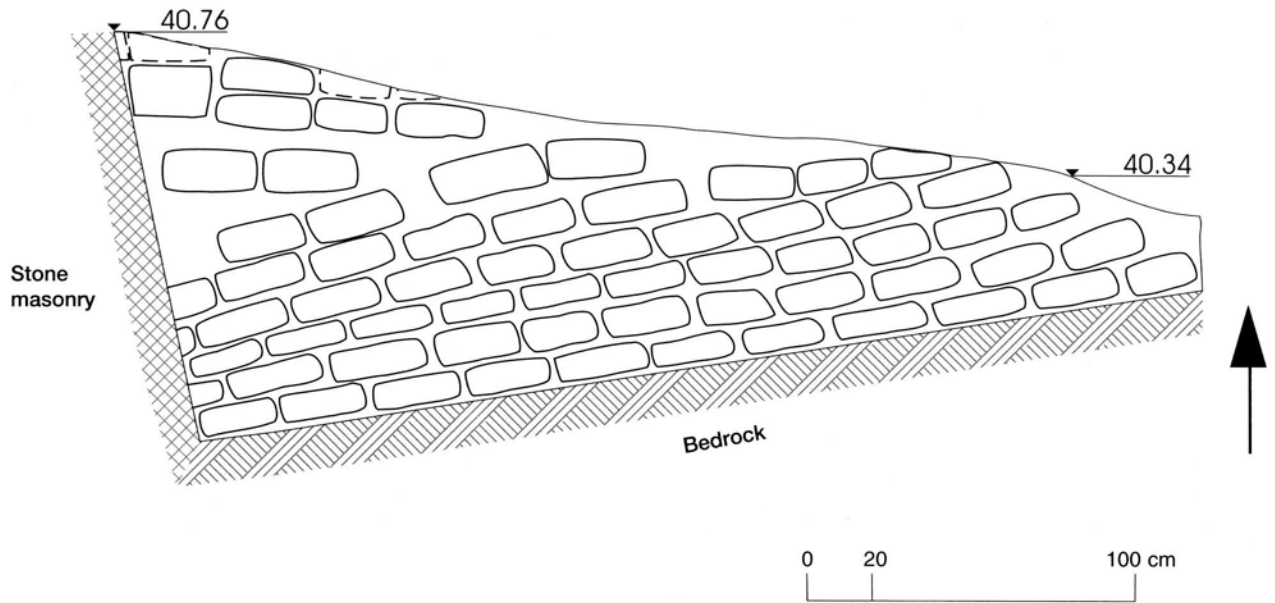


Fig. 1.3 – Section of the eastern mudbrick wall of the tomb of Ity

and stands. The same type of a cultural refuse layer was found to the south of the tomb of Ity. This evidence indicates that the area close to the tomb remained in use until the late Sixth Dynasty.

The superstructure of the tomb was constructed of two distinctive types of masonry. The outer walls of the stone core of the mastaba were built of larger limestone lumps joined with mud mortar (outer walls and roof, 0.80–1.00 m in thickness) with an inner loose filling of smaller limestone lumps and chips. The employment of a technique, which combines a shell of solid stone masonry with a loose internal filling, became discernible when some shallow, secondary sand-filled pits in the masonry were emptied. These pits were probably a result of stone and/or tomb robbers' activity.

The masonry itself was built during the first building stage of the mastaba. The faces of this core had an inclination of about 80 degrees. This first stage might be further divided into two subsequent phases. In the first phase a rectangular core was built, measuring 36.30 × 7.00 m (narrowing to 5.70 m on its southern end, with a recess for the serdab's west wall in its southeast corner).² During the second phase, this core was enlarged on its southern, western and eastern sides (39.30 × 12.70 m, again narrowing on its southern end to 8.80 m), as if it had been decided at one time to enlarge the original plan of the tomb (pl. IIIa).

² Bárta, *MDAIK* 54 (1998): 65–75.

This core was in the following stage embedded in a massive mudbrick wall with an angle of 78 degrees (dark mudbricks 0.28–0.30 × 0.15 × 0.10 m) built on all four sides, resulting in an overall groundplan of 45.90 × 20.60 m.³ This took place during the second building stage. The bricks joined with dark mud mortar were laid in courses sloping towards the core of the tomb at an angle of about 12 degrees to the horizontal level (fig. 1.3). Only the uppermost courses were placed horizontally. This feature was noticed in the east wall where several, shallow secondary pits were cleared. Courses of mudbricks were strengthened at regular intervals with layers of reeds. During this stage also the surface of the stone core was probably coated over with a layer of mud or mudbrick.

The overwhelming number of the Second – Third Dynasty Saqqara tomb superstructures is built as rubble-filled mudbrick mastabas (filled with rubble, sand and/or with fluid mud being poured in at different stages etc.).⁴ The strategy of employing this kind of combination (mudbrick and stone) masonry was undoubtedly due to the architect's intention to secure the substructure of

³ See for instance Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pls. 1–2 and Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, p. 23.

⁴ This size of mudbricks corresponds with those attested in some Old Kingdom Saqqara tombs – the Archaic period mudbricks are in most cases several cms smaller – see Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, pp. 24–26.

the tomb as much as possible. The core of limestone was undoubtedly built with the idea of including all subterranean structures below this massive stone work and thus improving security in regard to tomb robbers⁵. This feature of Ity's tomb, i.e. the employment of the limestone blocks and lumps – a building material which was undoubtedly reserved only for members of the élite in the society of that time – indicates the elevated status of the tomb owner.

The earliest occurrence of stone application in the Saqqara – Abusir area and its vicinity comes from the tombs in Helwan and Saqqara. Helwan tomb 40 H.3 (reign of Qaa or the early Second Dynasty) had two portcullises, and the walls of the burial chamber were cased with limestone blocks.⁶ This tomb together with 1 H.3 from the same cemetery belong to the earliest examples of tombs with monolithic limestone portcullises in the area.⁷ Parallel evidence for the use of limestone portcullises is from the same time (reign of Den) attested in the tomb of Hemaka⁸ and in Tomb X,⁹ and for limestone roofing blocks in the reign of Qaa in the tomb S 3121 at Saqqara.¹⁰ Earliest evidence for a shaft cased with limestone blocks comes from Helwan as well. It is tomb 287 H.6 from the end of the Third Dynasty.¹¹ However, in Helwan the use of stone is attested in nine tombs out of 10 267 which shows that the application of stone was very limited.¹²

The mudbrick casing of the tomb was on all four outer faces decorated with simplified paneling consisting of plain niches which were ca 0.66–0.67 m wide and 0.15 m deep, alternating with recesses which measured about 0.60 m in width (pl. IIIb). The niches start about 0.45 m above the ground level of the tomb. Thus they resemble for instance the panelling of tombs such as S 3505 from the reign of Qaa, where the niches are also built above ground level, on a low plinth.¹³ Only the niches decorating the outer west wall of the tomb begin at ground level, and these are not placed on a low platform as are the niches embedded in the remaining three walls. There sur-

vived no traces of plaster or wooden (panel) decoration on the tomb facade.

The niching of the tomb of Ity is rather rare for the time of the Third Dynasty (another example is Tomb 3070 at Saqqara¹⁴) because niched walls in non-royal funerary architecture appear and dominate during the First Dynasty and usually decorate all four faces of the tombs. By the end of the First Dynasty, probably during the reign of Qaa, they seem to give way to simplified plain walls for the superstructures.¹⁵

The eastern part of the mudbrick shell masonry was the largest, due to the fact that this part of the mastaba encompassed the cult room, magazine and serdab. The cruciform chapel was situated near the tomb's southeastern corner. Near to its northeastern end, there was a secondary northern niche embedded in the mudbrick masonry. This niche was found, however, in a very sad state and only an imprint of its base with traces of a tiny layer of limestone mortar could be identified on the mudbrick masonry. The niche had originally been 1.20–1.30 m wide and 0.60 m deep. The layers of mudbrick were combined with layers of reed matting that had been used to strengthen the walls. Discernible remains of this matting were encountered in the northern part of the tomb.

The inclination of these outer walls of the mastaba is about 78 degrees. The northeast corner of the tomb was strengthened with a limestone block. This corner is the only one where such a stone element was noted. Since the northwest corner was destroyed during the construction of the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Kaaper, and both southeast and southwest corners were degraded by water erosion, it is probably correct to suppose that similar reinforcements were originally used at all four corners of the tomb.

1.1.1.1 Cult installations

The major cult place was represented by the cruciform chapel situated in the southeastern part of the tomb. In this case, it had the form of a true cruciform chapel, with a plain compound niche in the

⁵ See Verner, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 80, fig. 3.

⁶ Wood, *JEA* 73 (1987): 62; 63, fig. 2. The tomb has been re-excavated only recently, see Köhler, *BACE* 9 (1998): 65–72.

⁷ Wood, *JEA* 73 (1987): 59–61; 60, fig. 1.

⁸ *PM* III, p. 440; Emery, *Hemaka*, pl. 6, A–D.

⁹ *Idem*, *Great Tombs* I, pls. 43–44; Helck, *LÄ* V (1984), col. 390, fig. 3.

¹⁰ Emery, *Great Tombs* I, pls. 48–49A,B; *PM* III, p. 443.

¹¹ Wood, *JEA* 73 (1987): 67; pl. 6, 1–2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹³ Emery, *Great Tombs* III, p. 8; pls. 2, 14–15.

¹⁴ Emery, *JEA* 54 (1968): 11; pl. 2, 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11. Kaiser, Dreyer, *MDAIK* 38 (1982): 258 who admit that the disappearance of the niched walls was due to an influx of Upper Egypt. The niched facades reappear during the Third Dynasty and they occur, though sporadically, until the end of the Old Kingdom – see the tomb of Iteti - Badawy, *The Tomb of Iteti*, fig. 3 and pls. 1–2. *PM* III, p. 193, the late Fifth Dynasty; tomb of Kai – Hassan, *Giza* III, p. 30, fig. 29; *idem*, *Giza* IV, p. 86, fig. 42. *PM* III, p. 277, the early or the middle Fifth Dynasty.

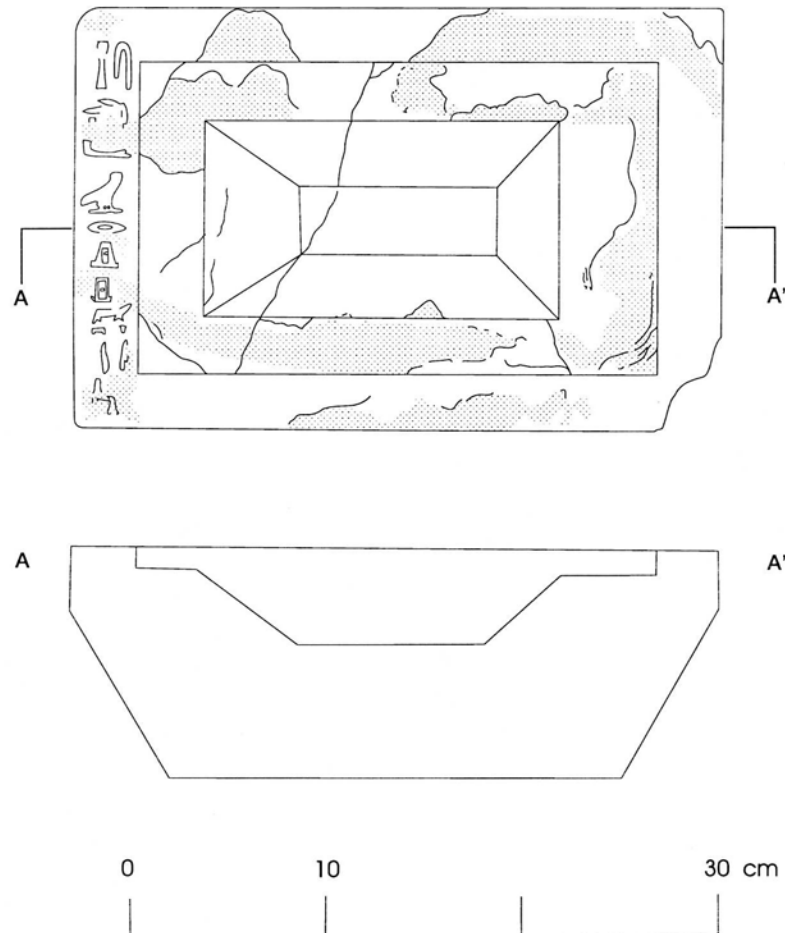


Fig. 1.4 – Offering basin from the chapel of Ity

west wall (pl. IVa). This type of chapel occurs from the reign of Khasekhemwy onwards as an innovation appearing in Quibell's Archaic Cemetery at North Saqqara.¹⁶ The earliest known example of a mastaba with true cruciform chapel here is probably S 3043.¹⁷ It lies within the South group of these mastabas at the Archaic cemetery.¹⁸ Tombs S 2304 and S 2306, lying on the western edge of the cemetery, probably represent the latest buildings in the cemetery, and it is possible to date them to the Third Dynasty. In the North group,¹⁹ tombs S 2464, S 2446 and S 2440, which are much smaller than the main mastabas of this group, probably also date to the Third Dynasty (according to their position within the cemetery – on its easternmost periphery). Therefore, these chapels may be considered as direct precursors of the chapel of Ity.

¹⁶ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 263.

¹⁷ Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. 2.; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 154.

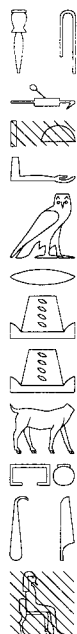
¹⁸ Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

Ity's chapel was entered from the east through a short stone-paved entrance corridor. This southern part of the tomb suffered extensively from aerial denudation, and it explains why the maximum preserved height of the walls here does not reach more than 1.40 m. The chapel was almost square in groundplan, measuring nearly 2 × 2 m and was filled with massive, compacted mudbrick destruction. This was devoid of any finds that would have provided a clue for dating of the tomb. The west wall was shaped as a simple false door with a single central niche on walls of which survived remains of original white plaster with whitewash. The niche was originally 0.72 m wide and 0.44 m deep. Later on, however, the niche was narrowed by a secondary structure: mudbrick walls were built on its northern and southern walls, reducing the niche to a width of 0.37 m.

In front of the false door, originally sunk in the shallow pit (10 cm deep) in the floor (but found 0.60 m below the top of the west wall), was found a small rectangular libation basin made of limestone with slanting sides and a prolonged central

cavity bordered on all four sides by a rim.²⁰ The basin was 0.12 m high and measured 0.23 × 0.12 m (bottom), 0.33 × 0.22 (top), with the central rectangular cavity 0.08 × 0.07 m, 0.05 m deep (fig. 1.4, pl. IVb). Although heavily eroded by salt encrustation, it was possible to reconstruct part of its badly weathered inscription executed in incised hieroglyphs on its south rim (the rims of the basin were 2.8–3.3 cm wide). The text reads as follows:²¹



smr w^ctj, (j)m(j)-r šnwtj hnw, Jtj

“The sole companion, overseer of the two granaries of the Residence, Ity.”

Comparable examples of libation basins of this type show that, in most cases, the basins were inscribed on all four rims.²² These carried the usual offering formula and the most important titles and name of the deceased (for instance, basins found in the tombs of Mensutitefnesut,²³ Itju,²⁴ Hesy,²⁵ Nisu,²⁶ Kaemib,²⁷ Wemtetka,²⁸ Sedaug²⁹ and

Hebi³⁰ at Giza). Ity’s basin is so similar to the examples just quoted that, with a note of caution, it is logical to assume that it originally bore inscriptions on all four sides of the rim.

There was a small magazine to the south of the chapel. This room was entered from the middle of the south wall of the chapel through a short passage. Larger sections of the south and east walls of the room were rounded off to its floor level. Nevertheless, it was possible to reconstruct its groundplan from the position of its northwest and northeast corners. Both the floor of the cruciform chapel as well as that of the magazine were made of beaten mud. On the floor level of this magazine there were found remains of a fireplace in the middle of the room with charcoal and a pottery lid.³¹ At the south wall was a shallow depression in the floor for a large storage vessel.

To the west of the cruciform chapel was built a closed room, probably a serdab. Its western and northern walls were cased with limestone lumps laid flat, whereas its eastern and southern walls were built of mudbricks. Its floor was of reddish mud, apparently part of the *tafl* stratum. In the southern part of the serdab, there were preserved several courses of mudbricks. The filling of the room consisted of *tafl* mixed with scattered pieces of mudbricks and with a larger inclusion of small limestone chips. Only at the north wall there was a small gap filled with white, wind-blown sand. The south part of the serdab was covered with a layer of limestone blocks. In the *tafl* fill there were some sherds of Third Dynasty beer jars (with two parallel running plastic ribs on the shoulder).

1.1.2 Substructure

Northern substructure

The substructure of Ity’s tomb consisted of two individual arrangements embedded in the stone core masonry, cut into the fragile limestone bedrock interspersed with layers of *tafl* sediments.

The entrance into the northern substructure (type IVB of Reisner’s classification³²) was through a stairway. This stairway starts shortly before the north end of the stone core masonry, descends parallel along the east face of the stone core to the north, and after 5 m turns to the west where a further four

²⁰ (Excav. No. 3/EE/93).

²¹ Reading of Verner, ZÄS 122 (1995): 81; 83, fig. 6a.

²² Not mentioned in Hassan, *Giza V*, pp. 180–189.

²³ Junker, *Giza V*, p. 190, fig. 60.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136; 135, fig. 35; pl. 40a, b.

²⁵ *Idem*, *Giza VI*, p. 165, fig. 58 B; pl. 15c.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 238, fig. 100.

²⁷ *Idem*, *Giza VII*, p. 150, fig. 62; pl. 29c.

²⁸ *Idem*, *Giza IX*, p. 104; 103, fig. 44; pl. 9d.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 177; 177, fig. 50; pl. 9a, today kept in Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum. It is worth mentioning that in Junker’s original publication the section comprising the name of Hesy is well preserved. On the photograph published in 1993, however, the relevant place is damaged so that the name is not visible any more – see Seipel, *Vermächtnis der Pharaonen*, pp. 102–103, No. 46.

³⁰ Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 120, fig. 52; pl. 9c.

³¹ (Excav. No. 6/EE/93).

³² Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 154.

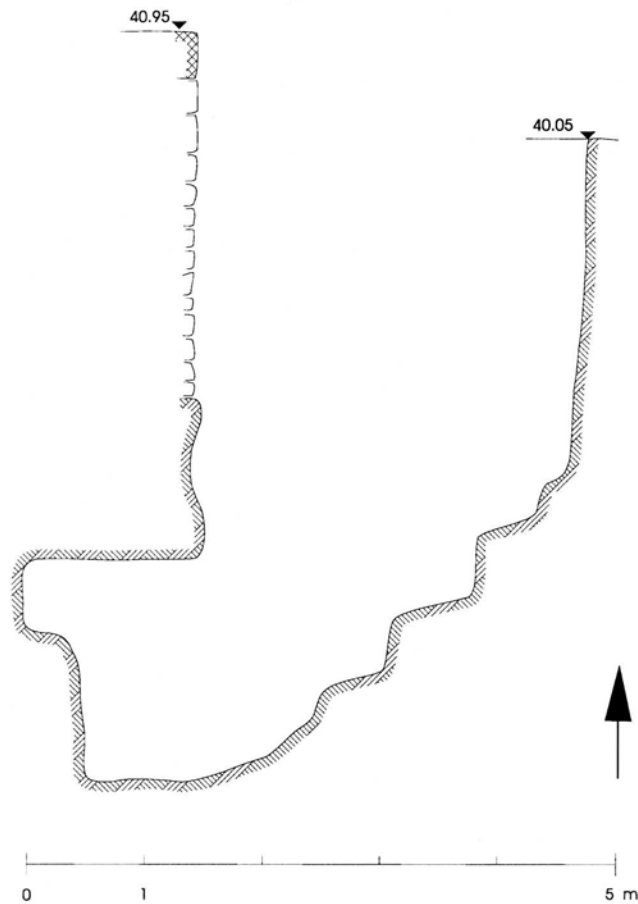


Fig. 1.5 – Section of the northern substructure entrance

steep steps descend to the entrance into the underground (fig. 1.5, pl. VIa). The first step is approximately 0.60 m high, the second and third 0.50 m and the fourth one 0.80 m high, and their floors are inclined westwards. Their width comprises about 0.20, 0.50, 0.72 and 0.50 m, respectively.

The bottom of this staircase is 5.80 m below the top of the west wall of the stone core masonry. At a depth of 4.10 m there was found a small cup once used as a lamp and dating to the Roman Period. Both sections of this descending corridor were later on filled with layers of poured wet mud (with an admixture of limestone chips) which, after drying, turned out to be quite compact, a cement-like mass of filling. Only in the western section of the descending passage was the lowermost part filled with dark sand with *tafl* and chips of limestone to a height of 2.30 m above the level of the passage. Above this again, there were layers of once-liquid mud mixed with limestone chips.

The technique of pouring liquid mud for filling empty spaces is attested twice – at least – from the Archaic Cemetery at North Saqqara, from the

tombs of the Second – Third Dynasties,³³ and from the early Fourth Dynasty tomb at Meidum (M 16).³⁴ Despite these precautions, the western part of the east-west branch of the stairway had been penetrated by the tomb robbers by means of a shaft. Over the course of time, this secondary entrance, leading directly to the underground corridor, was filled with wind-blown yellow sand.

Originally, the entrance into the underground gallery had been blocked with a limestone slab. To the west of this portcullis the passage turns to the left and the corridor runs from this point 13.75 m further to the south. The passage is about 1.40 m high and the floor of this passage was covered with a layer of dark sand mixed with mud, *tafl* and limestone chips. These older deposits which seem to belong to the original undisturbed layers dating to the building of the gallery, were covered with 0.15 m layer of clean wind-blown sand. After sev-

³³ Quibell, *El Kab*, p. 1.

³⁴ Petrie, *Medum*, p. 14.

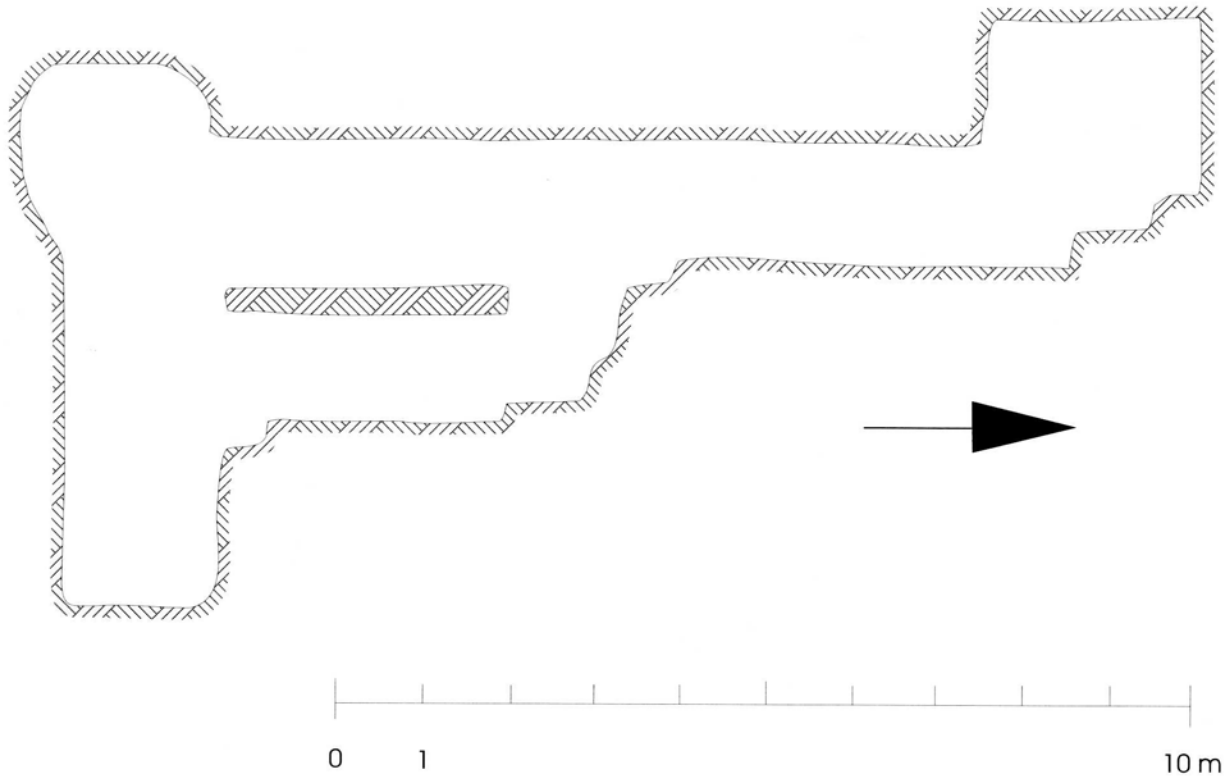


Fig. 1.6 – Section of the northern substructure

eral metres there was an opening in the floor of this gallery giving access to another, much shorter gallery running parallel with and underneath the upper one (fig. 1.6, pl. VIb). To the north of this opening there were found about 20 pieces of mud sealing and two sherds of Meidum bowls with dark red-pink slip. The lower gallery floor was also covered with dark sand with limestone chips. Both galleries end up after several more metres as a *cul de sac*. The floor of the upper gallery is broken through at its southern end and the two galleries are thus interconnected at two points. The southern part of the lower gallery ends as a shaft about 2 m deep. At this stage the works in this north substructure came to a halt. This was probably due to the inferior quality of the limestone bedrock. The walls and ceiling of the corridors were only roughly cut and left undressed.

Southern substructure

The pattern of the southern underground substructure is structurally entirely different from the previous one – it consists of a shaft with a single bu-

rial chamber at its bottom (Reisner's type VI).³⁵ This burial chamber is approached by a 10 m deep shaft. The shaft opening is situated roughly in the middle of the tomb, but slightly to the east from the north-south and to the north of the east-west axis of the tomb.³⁶ The filling of this shaft was quite homogenous, and consisted of sand mixed with *tafl* and with some large limestone blocks which had fallen off the side walls of the shaft. The shaft was lined to a depth of 2.30 m with limestone blocks joined with dark muddy mortar. The remaining portion of the shaft was cut into the poor limestone bedrock. At the bottom of this shaft starts a passage, about 6.70 m long and 1.70 m high aligned to the northeast-southwest, giving access to the burial chamber of Ity (fig. 1.7). Above the entrance into this passage, in the south wall of the shaft (at a depth of about 5.95–7.35 m below the tops of the tomb walls) there was a small niche filled with sand and faced with limestone lumps.

³⁵ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 167.

³⁶ Verner, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 80, fig. 2.

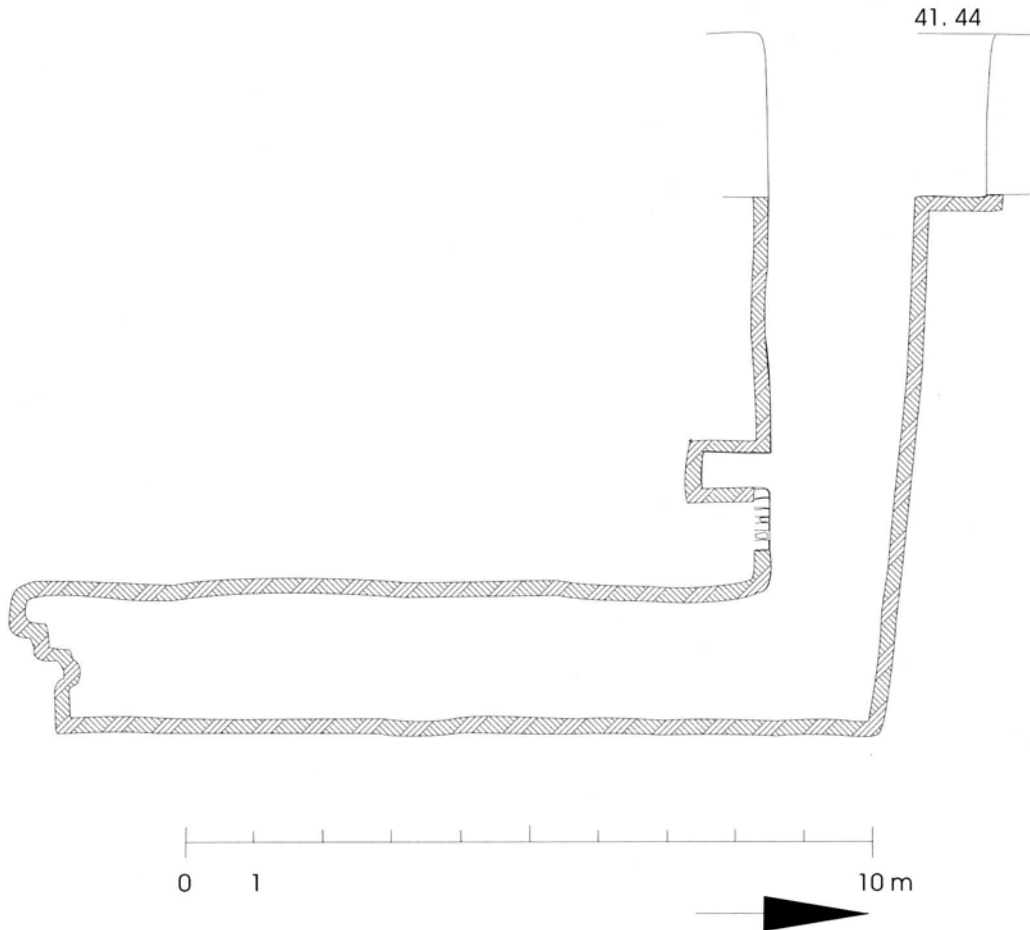


Fig. 1.7 – Section of the southern substructure

This recess, presumably an “offering niche”, had originally been filled with some ritual offerings. However, it was found severely destroyed in the same manner as the whole burial chamber itself. Close parallels with this niche are to be found in the tomb of Hemiunu³⁷ and Queen Hetepheres (I)³⁸ at Giza, both of them of particular interest since they date precisely to the reign of Khufu.

The passage leading into the burial chamber was originally sealed off by a huge monolithic block of limestone (2.20 m high, 1.20 m wide and 0.30 m in thickness) which was removed from its original position by the ancient tomb robbers (pl. VIIa). It was found leaning against the north wall of the shaft. The passage and the burial chamber are oriented rather to the southwest than to the south. The architect of the tomb probably tried to place the burial chamber approximately in the middle beneath the core masonry of the superstructure – probably in the hope that it would pro-

vide the dead with more security than the plain mudbrick shell.

The burial chamber itself measured about 2.70 × 3.50 m and was furnished with a shallow sunken (for about 0.20 m) burial recess embedded in its west wall, where a wooden coffin with the burial of Ity had originally been placed (pl. VIIb). Some of the fragments from his burial were found in the corridor and burial chamber. The walls of the burial chamber and of the corridor were left undressed and still bear typical traces of the Old Kingdom cutting (pl. VIII). In the burial chamber there were found only several humble remains of male bones scattered all around the burial chamber and the corridor.³⁹ That the burial chamber had already been robbed in antiquity is well attested by the finds of pottery of Roman date from the bottom of the shaft. The shaft and the burial chamber were left open after their plundering and, as a result, the floor of the burial chamber had become filled by a thick (0.20 m) layer of mud which had run down

³⁷ G 4000 – PM III, p. 122. Junker, *Giza I*, p. 143; 142, fig. 21.

³⁸ Lehner, *Hetepheres*, fig. 2; p. 33.

³⁹ Excav. No. 10/EE/93.

from the eroded mudbrick surface of the tomb. In the corridor, and in the western burial niche, there were found some badly decayed, white plastered pieces of wood which might have come from the coffin of Ity. The only part of the original burial equipment remaining were sherds originating from two vessels.⁴⁰ There was a 0.35 m deep recess in the southern wall of the chamber, just about 1 metre above the floor level.

A similar shallow recess was identified also in tombs S 2337⁴¹ and 2406⁴² of the Second Dynasty. In these two tombs the recesses were in fact not in the south wall of the burial chamber itself, but in the southern wall of the antechamber which lay to the east of the burial chamber. Furthermore, from the same Dynasty comes tomb S 2498⁴³ and from the Third Dynasty tomb S 3040⁴⁴ with its recess in the southern wall of the burial chamber proper. Further development occurred in the early Fourth Dynasty at Meidum,⁴⁵ where similar recesses in the south walls of the burial chambers were encountered in many of the so called Great Western Tombs⁴⁶ and Far West Tombs.⁴⁷ The closest parallels with the tomb of Ity that are possible to find come from the tombs of Nefermaat,⁴⁸ Rahotep⁴⁹ and Ranefer.⁵⁰ In these last named tombs the recesses were cut high up in the south wall of the burial chambers, near the southeastern corner (in the case of Ranefer the exact position of the recess above the floor-level of the burial chamber is not explicitly stated in the publication and the plan of the tomb does not provide any further clarification). In the case of the tombs of Rahotep and Ranefer, there were even the remains of viscera packages discovered placed within these recesses.⁵¹ As such they could be very useful for

the dating of the tomb. This would push the dating of the tomb of Ity to either the close of the Third, or, – more probably, at the very beginning of the Fourth Dynasty.

The definite form of these recesses becomes established not long after the building of the tombs at Meidum, since several years later on, in the tombs of the cemetery of the “second generation” of Sneferu at Dahshur, they are positioned at their typical place at ground level, in the southeast corner of the southern wall of the burial chamber.⁵² The last example of such canopic recesses is one placed in the south wall of the burial chamber above the floor level tomb F7 of Kaisedju at Abu Roash.⁵³

In reviewing the substructures of the tomb of Ity, it is possible to sort out those from the Saqqara necropolis with a similar combination of two underground system. The following tombs are characterised by the combination of type IVB and VI of substructures: S 3009,⁵⁴ 3039,⁵⁵ 3070,⁵⁶ 3071+3072,⁵⁷ 3073,⁵⁸ 3074⁵⁹ and 3076.⁶⁰ With the exception of the first two tombs, which are dated to the Third Dynasty, all remaining tombs date tentatively to the early Fourth Dynasty and as such represent the closest counterparts to the substructure system of Ity.⁶¹ The comparison of the tombs’ size shows that the tomb of Ity (941.40 sq. m.) must have been one of the largest in the cemetery.⁶²

1.2 The titles and the name of Ity

The only monument bearing some titles of Ity was the libation basin found in the chapel of the tomb. Because this inscription is one of the few possible indicators of the date of the tomb and the status of its owner, I think it appropriate to deal with it in some extent.

⁴⁰ (Excav. No. 13 and 14/EE/93) – see Verner, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 85, fig. 8 a and b.

⁴¹ Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. 30; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 141–142; 142, fig. 65; Rogouline, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 237–238.

⁴² Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. 30; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 143; 142, fig. 66; Rogouline, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 237–238.

⁴³ Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. 30; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 139–140; 140, fig. 62; Rogouline, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 238.

⁴⁴ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 163; 164, fig. 77.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 206–216.

⁴⁶ Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis III*, pl. 15.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 17–18.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 3–4; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, 209; 210, fig. 106; 222, fig. 117.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211; 211, fig. 107.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁵¹ Petrie, *Medum*, p. 18.

⁵² Stadelmann et al., *MDAIK* 49 (1993): 273, fig. 10; 274, fig. 11.; 276 (Tomb M I/1); 278; 279, fig. 12; 280, fig. 13 (Tomb M II/1); 285; 287, fig. 17 (Tomb M I/2) and 289, fig. 18; 290; 290, fig. 19 (Tomb M III/1).

⁵³ Bisson de la Roque, *Abu Roash 1924*, p. 6, fig. 1.

⁵⁴ *PM* III, p. 440; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 168.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 168; 267, fig. 157. Emery, *JEA* 54 (1968): 11–13.

⁵⁷ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 168–169.

⁵⁸ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 71–79; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 169; 268–9, figs. 158–163; *PM* III, pp. 449–450.

⁵⁹ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 169.

⁶⁰ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 68–70; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 169; *PM* III, p. 453.

⁶¹ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 168–169.

⁶² See Bárta, “Old Kingdom Mastaba Tombs of the ‘Transitional Type’”, *in press*; S 3009 – 241.5 sq. m., S 3039 – 610 sq. m., 3517 – 1431.40 sq. m., 3070 – 472.50 sq. m., 3071+3072 – 470 sq. m., 3073 – 1197 sq. m., 3074 – 968 sq. m., 3076 – 684 sq. m.

1) *smr w^ctj*

“The unique friend.”

The earliest evidence for this title from the Memphite area is dated to the Third Dynasty and the title is for the first time to be found on two stone vessels from the underground galleries of the Djoser Step Pyramid⁶³ associated with an official called Niperenenka.⁶⁴ The title, however, became widely used only during the Fourth Dynasty.⁶⁵ Until the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, the persons with this title probably possessed an extraordinary position at the court,⁶⁶ a quality that persisted well into the late Fourth Dynasty.⁶⁷ It is by no chance, that the highest officials of the Fourth Dynasty like Babaf,⁶⁸ Yunmin,⁶⁹ Yunra,⁷⁰ Sekhemkara⁷¹ and Kaemsekhem⁷² include this title in their titularies.⁷³ During the later Old Kingdom period, however, the title tended to become a “ranking title”.⁷⁴ The exclusivity of the title in the early period, however, is indirectly attested by the fact that titularies of several high officials known from the Third Dynasty lack this title.⁷⁵

2) *(j)m(j)-r šnwtj hnw*

“Overseer of the two granaries of the Residence.”

The title “director of the granaries” occurs as early as the reign of Sanakht.⁷⁶ This title later on transfigures into the title *(j)m(j)-r šnwt*.⁷⁷ Already Pehernefer at the dawn of the Fourth Dynasty bears the title *(j)m(j)-r šnwt nb(t) nt nswt* which was probably the highest title he was ever assigned during his career.⁷⁸ As the titulary of Pehernefer indicates, this title was the highest one within the administration of the granary (granaries).

The fact that altogether 22 viziers from the Old Kingdom Memphis bore the title of *(j)m(j)-r šnwtj*, attests to its importance.⁷⁹ According to Strudwick, these title holders were during the Old Kingdom responsible for the overall control of the granaries in the entire land.⁸⁰ In this sense, then, it may be possible to understand the dual form of the noun for granary as referring to both Upper and Lower Egypt administration.⁸¹ This possibility would be further corroborated by the fact that Ity possessed the title “the unique friend”, a rather high ranking title at the time. Therefore it is probable that Ity was concerned with the central taxation institution of the Egyptian state, at this time still very closely associated with the king.

No less ambiguous is the meaning of the word *hnw*, which, according to Goelet,⁸² is encountered during the Old Kingdom in two different contexts. Firstly, the term refers to a building or the whole complex of buildings associated with the king’s Residence.⁸³ Secondly, it can refer (on the basis of association of the Residence, i.e. the king, with the state) to the central state administration.⁸⁴

As far as the definition of the term *hnw* is concerned, Helck prefers to understand the expression in terms of the Residence with its own governmental offices (“Residenz mit ihrer Verwaltung”).⁸⁵ A similar conclusion is encountered from evidence provided by some Sixth Dynasty Hatnub inscriptions left behind by various expeditions. Here, in Gr.1 (reign of Teti)⁸⁶ and 7 (reign of Pepy II)⁸⁷ it is said that “(the work) we have done with 300 men ... from the *hnw*”, and that “... I was sent (to Hatnub) from the *hnw*” and that “...(according to)...instructions from the *hnw*”. These statements clearly indicate that under the term *hnw* is probably to be understood the central administration of the Egyptian state. Therefore, given the evidence

⁶³ Lacau, Lauer; *Pyramide à degrés* IV, pl. 22, nos. 121–122.

⁶⁴ For evidence and reading of the name consult Kaplony, *Inschriften* I, p. 514; II, p. 1067, no. 1865.

⁶⁵ See Kahl, *Inschriften*, with no single evidence for this title within the Third Dynasty.

⁶⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 25.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25; *idem*, *LÄ* VI (1986), col. 596.

⁶⁸ Hassan, *Giza* VII, p. 7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, *Giza* VI.3, p. 31.

⁷¹ *LD* II, pls. 41–42; Hassan, *Giza* IV, p. 107.

⁷² *LD* II, pl. 32.

⁷³ For the overview see Schmitz, *Königssohn*, pp. 18–21.

⁷⁴ Helck, *LÄ* VI (1986), col. 596; *idem*, *Beamtentitel*, p. 111; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 224–225.

⁷⁵ Helck, *Thinitenzeit, passim*, esp. pp. 255–285.

⁷⁶ Garstang, *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf*, pl. 19,7. This title is translated by Kahl, *Inschriften*, pp. 142–143, as “Diener der Scheunen”, a title rather improbable and otherwise unattested.

⁷⁷ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 64; Schmitz, *LÄ* V (1984), col. 594.

⁷⁸ Junker, *ZÄS* 75 (1939): 68. Jones, *Index* I, pp. 254–255, No. 923.

⁷⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 259 and 264.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁸¹ The duality of the most important institutions have played a vital role in the titularies of the Old Kingdom viziers – see now Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 41, 1.2.3.3.

⁸² Goelet, *Royal Palace*, pp. 153–159 (for the whole chapter and listed evidence for *hnw* in the Old Kingdom see pp. 1–166).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 153–155.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, “Abstract” and pp. 155–158. These conclusions were, however, anticipated already by the Wörterbuch redaction: *Wb* III, 370.5 – “Residenz des Königs”; 6–7 – “als Wohnort des Königs und Vornehmen”; 9 – “als Sitz der Regierung und des Veziers”; 10 – “als Ort wohin Steuer und Tribute gehen”.

⁸⁵ Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 95–96.



⁸⁶ Anthes, *Hatnub*, pl. 9.



⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 12.




above, I am inclined to view Ity's administrative title as "Overseer of the both granaries (of the State) of the Residence".

3) *Jtj*



The name of Ity⁸⁸ (with the meaning "Sovereign," "Fürst," "Herrscher"⁸⁹) is in two similar variants attested from the Archaic period: in the first case



it is written as   (reign of Djed)⁹⁰ and in the



second case as  .⁹¹ The later Old Kingdom evidence is much richer and involves a wide spectrum of the graphic presentation of the name, the

forms   and  being the most frequently used variants.⁹²

The earliest Old Kingdom examples of the holders of the name of Ity originate from Abusir and Saqqara and are not earlier than the late Fifth Dynasty. They are attested from tomb E 15 (tomb owner Ity) from the reign of Menkauhor or later

(written out as  ),⁹³ from the tomb of Khuy (offering bearer with name form the same as the preceding one)⁹⁴ and from the false-door of Pehe-

nuika where Ity (written out as  ) is depicted as his son at Saqqara.⁹⁵ From the later Old Kingdom

comes the writing   (tomb of Ity at Giza, with the sign M33 phonetically equivalent to the usual sign U33) in the West Field.⁹⁶ Given the evidence above, it may well be possible that the distribution of this name was limited to the Memphite area.⁹⁷

The name of Ity on the basin is determined with the sign of a man sitting on chair which might reflect the praxis of adding a determinative behind the personal name unless the identity of

the tomb owner is not secured elsewhere in the chapel (see *Remark 1*).⁹⁸

1.3 The Pottery

During the course of the excavation there were found only conspicuously few pieces of the Old Kingdom pottery, most of them being insignificant sherds from the bottoms or from the bodies of individual pottery shapes. Therefore only those having some importance for the dating of the tomb are presented here. The pottery may be divided according to its provenience into three groups: pottery from the outside of the tomb, pottery from the chapel and the magazine and pottery from the burial chamber.

1. Pottery from the outside of the tomb.

This was the largest set of the pottery. It consisted mainly of sherds of beer jars, bread moulds and Meidum bowls. Most of them could be dated into the Fifth Dynasty – they thus attest to later activities which took part in the cemetery. Some of the pottery finds, however, could be dated to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty:

Meidum bowls

1. Excav. No. 1/EE/93 (pl. IXa)

Meidum bowl found in front of the entrance into the chapel. The bowl is made of Nile silt A,⁹⁹ height: 10 cms, diam. at the opening 14 cms, height of the rim 2 cms.

2. two 2.5–4 cms high rim sherds of Meidum bowls made of Nile Silt A¹⁰⁰ typical for the early Fourth Dynasty.¹⁰¹

Beer jars

Three sherds of beer jars with two plastic ribs below the rim. These beer jars are typical for the Third Dynasty and still occur during the early Fourth Dynasty in Dahshur.¹⁰² Only shortly thereafter, at Giza, they seem to give way to their simplified forms without the ribs.¹⁰³

⁸⁸ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 50.5.

⁸⁹ *Wb* I, 143.3.

⁹⁰ Kaplony, *Inschriften* I, p. 435; III, pl. 29, fig. 81.

⁹¹ *Idem.*, *Inschriften* I, p. 435; Kaplony, *Inschriften* III, pl. 95, fig. 370.

⁹² See already Murray, *Index*, III.

⁹³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 418–419; *PM* III, p. 611.

⁹⁴ Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara* II, p. 36; 38; pl. 22.

⁹⁵ *LD* II, pl. 47.

⁹⁶ *PM* III, p. 48.

⁹⁷ It seems that the name is otherwise unattested in the provinces during the Old Kingdom.

⁹⁸ Fischer, *The Coptite Nome*, Appendix A, pp. 124–125.

⁹⁹ Arnold, Bourriau, *Egyptian Pottery*, pp. 170–171.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 170–171.

¹⁰¹ In all three cases the height/diam. index (height of the rim divided by the diameter of the vessel opening) was typical of the earliest Meidum bowls (being 0.14) – see Ballet, *CCE* I (1987): 9, fig. 6. The appearance of the Meidum ware seems to be connected with the early Fourth Dynasty – see Bárta, *GM* 149 (1995): 15–24.

¹⁰² Alexanian, *Netjer-aperef*, pp. 130–134.

¹⁰³ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, *passim*.

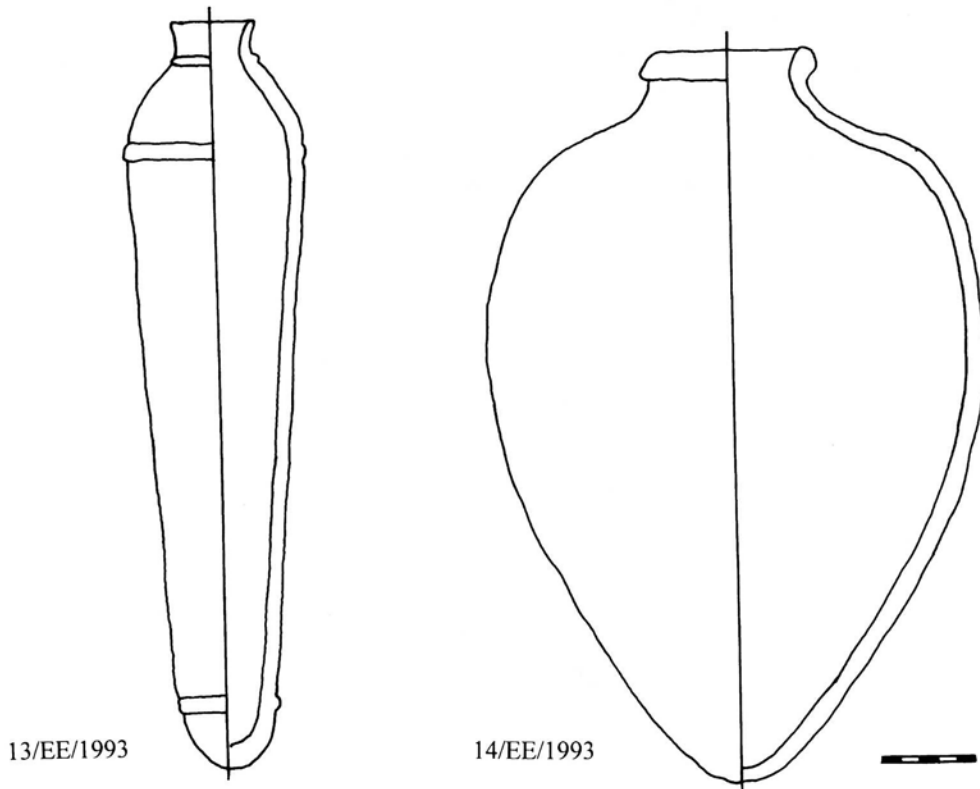


Fig. 1.8 – Pottery from the burial chamber

2. Pottery from the chapel

The only find from the entrance into the magazine south of the chapel are two pottery lids. The lids were made of Nile silt A. They were 5.2 (including the knob) and 5 cm high with a diam. of 10 and 13 cm at the opening.

3. Pottery from the burial chamber

1. Excav. No. 13/EE/93 (fig. 1.8, pl. IXb)

A slender jug made of marl clay, with a long concave collar neck and a plastic cord decoration on its shoulders. The fragments of this vessel were found at the bottom of the shaft, as well as within the burial chamber itself. The jug was 41 cm high, diam. at the opening 4.6 cm, max. diam. 9.6 cm.

Excav. No. 14/EE/93 (fig. 1.8, pl. IXc)

A large, wide storage jar made of marl clay. The jar was 40 cm high, diam. at the opening 8.1 cm, max.

diam. 27 cm. The nearest parallels to these two pottery types were found in the pottery corpus from Bêt Khallâf tombs. The prolonged jar can be paralleled with pottery types from tombs K1 and K5¹⁰⁴ and the storage vessel with the pottery from tomb K2.¹⁰⁵ It seems that this pottery is not attested at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty any more.

1.4. Conclusions

For the dating of the tomb, the occurrence of the cruciform chapel alone with the southern superstructure (type VI) and titulary (above all the title of *smr w^ctj*) seem to play decisive roles. Simultaneously, the presence of the older, northern substructure must be kept in mind. The southern substructure is undoubtedly one of the earliest precursors of a newly introduced building tradition at Saqqara and cannot be dated earlier than the late Third, early Fourth Dynasty.¹⁰⁶ It thus represents one of the vital factors necessary for the

¹⁰⁴ Kelley, *Pottery of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 8.1; Garstang, *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf*, pl. 30, 21, 25–6.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 31, 27.

¹⁰⁶ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 359, 366.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 359; 366.

classification of the tomb within the development of the early Old Kingdom tombs. By taking into consideration all these above facts, one is able to impose very close limits on the dating of the tomb.

Reisner attributes the earliest occurrence of tombs with simple cruciform chapel in combination with the substructure of type VI to the reign of Sneferu.¹⁰⁷ The comparable evidence with the tomb of Ity includes the following early Fourth Dynasty tombs at Saqqara: S 3071 and 3072,¹⁰⁸ S 3074¹⁰⁹ and S 3078,¹¹⁰ that is tombs which are all tentatively dated to the early Fourth Dynasty.¹¹¹ It is remarkable that these tombs very often combine two concomitant types of substructures – type VI as a new approach to the building of the burial chamber, and type IVB – a rudimentary variety temporarily preserved from the previous period of the tomb development. These tombs can therefore be classified as “*tombs of transitional type*” and can be understood as a bridge between the tomb development of the first three dynasties and the newly evolving tombs of the Fourth Dynasty.¹¹²

Also significant seems to be the position of the serdab to the west of the true cruciform chapel. Ity's example is thus one of the earliest types known, and corresponds with the widely accepted opinion that the serdab in non-royal tombs was introduced first at the outset of the Fourth Dynasty.¹¹³

To a certain degree, emphasis may be put on the “offering niche” in the vertical shaft and the “embalming recess” in the south wall of the burial chamber. The offering niche is attested only from Giza from the tombs of Hemunu and Queen Hetepheres (I) dated to the reign of Khufu.

Indirect evidence and a basis for the dating of Ity's tomb are also provided by the pottery identified during the excavation and consisting of beer jars with ribs and the Meidum ware bowls. This pottery shows links with both the older Third Dynasty and the early Fourth Dynasty period. The only Third Dynasty pottery examples were found in the burial chamber probably as a part of the

original burial equipment. It is well possible that these vessels were considered worth of value and stored for the time of the interment by the tomb owner.

The architectural and chronological importance of evidence provided by the cruciform chapel of the tomb has one more aspect worthy of notice: the fact that the chapel was not cased with stone blocks and that the core masonry of the tomb was made of stones challenges Reisner's original idea that it was only the stone lined chapels that instigated development leading directly towards the stone mastabas.¹¹⁴ It seems that the process resulting in an entirely new form of stone tomb architecture as exemplified by the Giza cemetery during the early Fourth Dynasty was not linear but rather manifold and more complex than formerly considered. As such, it was based on interplay of three major innovations, those of the stone-lined chapels and of the stone masonry which were complemented by the construction of the vertical shaft with the burial chamber at the bottom. The tomb of Ity shows two of these three distinct traits.

Despite the paucity of material we have at hand, it seems highly probable, from the considerations above, that the tomb of Ity should be dated to the early Fourth Dynasty rather than to the mid- or late Third Dynasty.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

¹¹⁰ *PM III*, p. 443; Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 266.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 280. Spencer – LÄ V (1984), col. 400, dates to the early Fourth Dynasty the following tombs: FS 3075, 3076, 3077 and possibly also 3073 and 3078.

¹¹² See Bárta, *in press*.

¹¹³ Spencer, LÄ V (1984), col. 403; Bárta, *MDAIK* 54 (1998) and Fitzenreiter, *Statue und Kult*, p. 41.

¹¹⁴ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 202.

¹¹⁵ Verner, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 84.

Remark 1

The introduction of the determinative behind Ity's name on the basin represents another important feature of this object. The evidence from similar libation basins (see above) shows that in most cases (with exception of the basin of Wemtetka) the name of the deceased is written without a determinative. This practice may be plausibly due to the relative closeness of the basin to the false door where the name and titles of the deceased tomb owner could be found. In such a case the determinative was possibly thought to be redundant because the identity of the tomb owner was secured by the other identification inscriptions.

The only case of Wemtetka whose name is written out with determinative of a man sitting on the chair may perhaps be explained by the archaeological context in which was the basin found. From Junker's report it is clear that his tomb was devoid of any titles or name of the deceased.¹¹⁶ During the examination of the tomb of Shedub it was shown that in such instances even a serdab might serve the same function – the statue of the deceased would probably fulfil the same identifying function as a depiction of the deceased on the false-door or on the walls of the tomb. (see 2.2.2.3) In the case of Wemtetka, where there was no other inscription or a serdab, it was therefore necessary to secure his identity on the basin itself. Due to this same fact, the basin was also provided with a list of religious feasts (a praxis otherwise only sporadically attested on libation basins) which would have been under normal conditions inscribed on the false door or elsewhere within the tomb.

According to Fischer,¹¹⁷ there were two interplaying factors which limited the use or omission of determinatives behind the personal names: the first being a tendency to use determinatives behind female names for differentiating their identity in respect of their male counterparts, the second tendency being the practice of determining names for those persons who were not as omnipresent as the actual tomb owner. This may well apply to the examples discussed above.

¹¹⁶ Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 104.

¹¹⁷ Fischer, *MMJ* 8 (1973): 22–23.

Chapter II:

THE LAKE OF ABUSIR TOMBS

2.1 State before excavation

The cemetery around the west shore of the remnant Abusir Lake is situated to the south of the valley temple of Nyuserra. Nowadays, its eastern part abuts the western fringe of the land under cultivation. Its western frontier is demarcated by the foothills of the westward rising slopes of the Western Desert which form the Abusir plateau on which were built mortuary complexes of the Fifth Dynasty kings. It is so far one of the easternmost and lowermost lying excavated sites within the Abusir cemeteries complex. The site became the subject of archaeological exploration at the beginning of this century when soundings were undertaken by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft expedition headed by Ludwig Borchardt.

The area then excavated covered about 200 square metres and was situated approximately 400 m to the south of the valley temple of Nyuserra (figs. 4–5, pl. X).¹ According to Borchardt, the area was located to the southeast from the so-called Abusir Pyramid No. 28.² The German expedition discovered large mudbrick structures which originally belonged to two different mudbrick tombs. These structures were covered with a layer (about 0.50 m) of windblown sand and were preserved to a height of about 1.50 m, being orientated approximately in a north-south direction. Only the northern portion of the eastern face of the easternmost tomb was uncovered; it was decorated with niches. The entrance to the tomb was situated in the northern part of its wall. The tomb walls

were plastered and whitewashed, the northern wall of the entrance being decorated with painted figures of four persons of which only the lower parts were preserved. On the south wall there were tiny traces of painting imitating matting work. Behind the entrance, further to the south and west, extended a court of a nearly square groundplan (measuring 4.00 m in the east-west and 4.70 m in the north-south direction³) with two columns and two $\frac{3}{4}$ engaged columns embedded by $\frac{1}{4}$ of their volume in the side walls of the court. Borchardt wrongly understood the structures to be a court with four columns.⁴ A similar piece of evidence has been provided by excavations within a complex of tombs at Abusir – Central Field dating to the reign of Djedkara-Izezi.⁵ This evidence suggests that the columns discovered by the German expedition are more probably low bases serving as altar platforms for a centralised cult of several adjoining tombs (fig. 2.1).

The northern two altars measure about 1.6 m in diameter. The southern altars are of a rather ellip-

³ All the following measurements given in the text are derived from Borchardt's Blatt 15 (*Sahure* I) and must be therefore taken only as very approximate ones.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁵ For a detailed description see Verner, *ZÄS* 107 (1980): 167–168. There was uncovered a similar cult structure, which was entered from the east. It also consisted of four altars which were situated in an open court delineated by three mastabas. These altars were grouped in two pairs. The first two were circular in shape (measuring 0.98 and 1.12 m in diameter) and very low (just 0.06 m above floor level of the court). Between them, there was a small offering table made of limestone. The second pair consisted of two, low circular tables (0.14 and 0.25 m above the floor, respectively). To the south of the four altars there was a circular mudbrick basin.

¹ For its position see Borchardt, *Sahure* I, Blatt 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

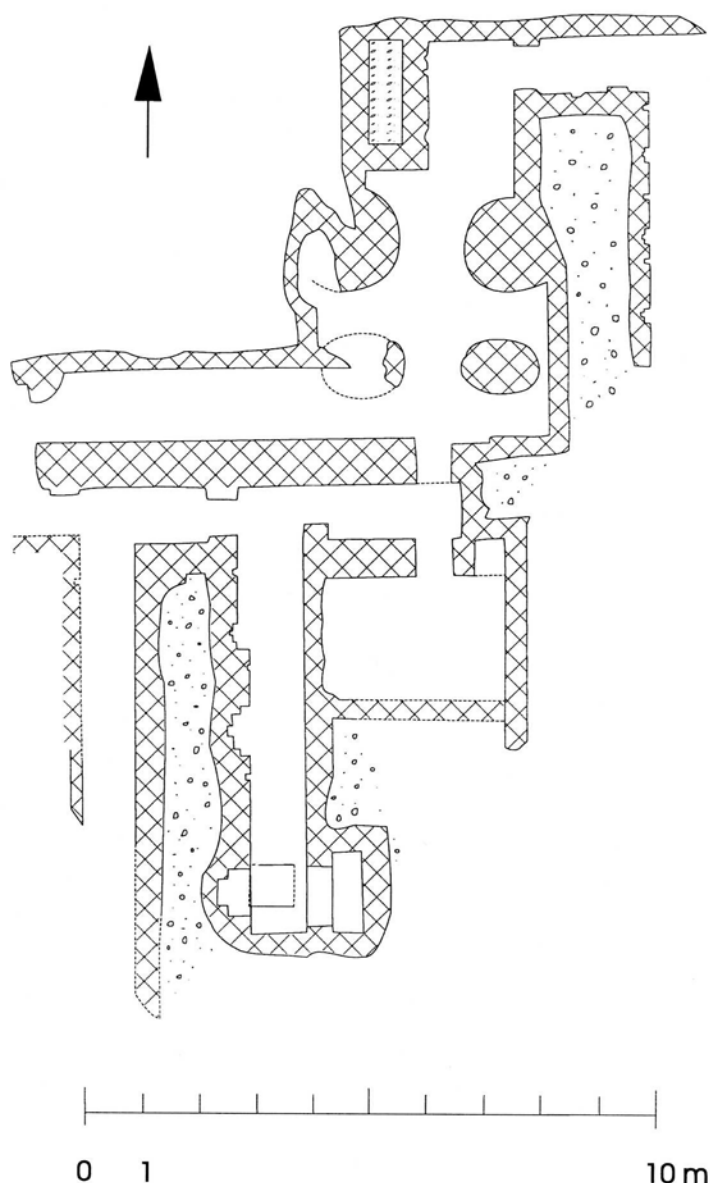


Fig. 2.1 – Plan of the excavated area at the Lake of Abusir by Borchardt (after Borchardt, *Sahure I*, p. 149, pl. 15)

tical shape measuring 1.00×1.35 and 1.10×1.45 m, respectively. The altars form a rectangle consisting of two east-west running rows each with two altars with upwards slanting walls. According to the measuring rod on one of the photographs taken by Borchardt's expedition, it can only be estimated that the height of the northeastern altar would be about 0.80 and the southeastern one of 0.60 m. The western wall of the court was again decorated with niches in the same manner as was the eastern outer wall. From the southwest corner of the court there was a passage leading further to the west. Another passage was situated approximately in the middle of the south wall giving access to at least two corridor chapels orien-

tated with their longitudinal axis roughly in a north-south direction. A magazine was situated immediately to the south of the court. The eastern corridor chapel is 5.20 m long, 1.20 m wide in its northern and 1.00 m in its southern section. The west wall of this chapel was furnished with undecorated false door niches.⁶ The walls of the tombs were about 2 m in thickness and, according to Borchardt's plan,⁷ it seems to be quite likely that they were filled with loose rubble.

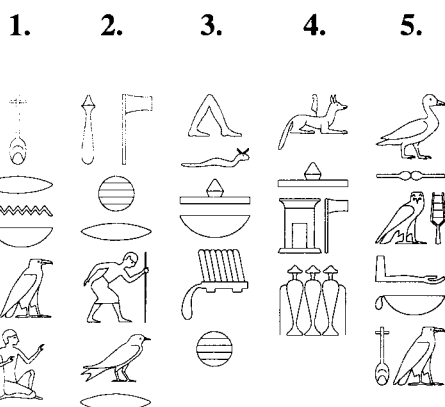
It seems that what Borchardt really discovered, was in fact an open court with four altars for

⁶ For details see Borchardt, *Sahure I*, pp. 147–149, 148, figs. 193–194 and Blatt 15 with the ground plan.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Blatt 15.

a centralised mortuary cult for the adjoining corridor chapels of several tombs. There were at least two chapels to the south and perhaps one more to the east of the open court. The whole area was later on overbuilt by two parallel northwest-southeast running mudbrick walls. According to their irregular plan and pottery inventory, the buildings were tentatively dated to the late Old Kingdom period. The individual finds which have further corroborated this dating was a Meidum ware (not specified) can with a spout, and a limestone stele with a badly executed incised hieroglyphic inscription comprising variants of two offering formulas.⁸

The text on the limestone stele is of a very inferior quality and consists of an inscription arranged in five columns which reads from right to left:



1. Z3.z (j)m(j)-h(w) K3(j)-nfr
2. Jnpw [dj] htp, hnt(j) zh ntr
3. jj.f (m) htp, (m) nb jm3h(w) (r)
4. ntr 3, hr j3w(t) wr(t)
5. nfr(t) n K3(j)-nfr.

1. "Her son, 'one who is in attendance', Kanefer,
2. A boon (offering) which Anubis in front of the divine booth [gives],
3. may he walk in peace as a possessor of reverence,
4. (to) the Great God, (after having attained) a good old age,
5. to Kanefer."

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 149, fig. 196. The tablet was translated and dealt with in a considerable detail by Borchardt and also by Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, pp. 23–25 (3. "The Inscription of a Son in the Tomb of His Mother").

1. This column contains the name and the title of the donor of the tablet, Kanefer.⁹ Fischer's translation of the column as "Her son, the (j)m(j)-h(w), Kanefer" is based mainly on the title of Kanefer.¹⁰ Fischer demonstrated that the Old Kingdom writing of *shm* as a component of personal names is never determined by the arm sign and therefore rejects the possibility of reading the column as "Her son, Sekhemkanefer," a name which is for the Old Kingdom otherwise unattested.¹¹

2. Column 2 starts with an introductory phrase for the offering formula, mentioning only the god "Anubis, in front of the divine booth." The sign for *dj*¹² is omitted.¹³ According to Barta,¹⁴ this is an abbreviated writing and, despite this, one should translate it as: "a boon which the king gives to the god Anubis". Barta explains this by saying that the subject of this phrase is "...die Überweisung eines Opfers durch den König an die Gottheit...".¹⁵ On the other hand, the fact that the earliest occurrences of Anubis in the formula are always without the denotation of the king seems to disqualify this translation.¹⁶ During the Old Kingdom, Anubis is by far the most frequently mentioned god in the offering formulas.¹⁷ Despite this, there are only several attestations of the epithet *hnt(j) zh ntr* in the offering formulas during the Fourth Dynasty and most of them date to the following Dynasty.¹⁸ Therefore the translation preferred here follows the argument by A. H. Gardiner¹⁹ and G. Lapp.²⁰ It may be added that an interesting feature is provided by the stroke on the back of the recumbent Anubis, an indication of a feather, a rather infrequent detail in the iconography of this sign.²¹

⁹ For the title "one who is in attendance" see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, pp. 13–14 (1. "A False Door of the Old Kingdom in Bologna").

¹⁰ For the sign P6, *h*^c, see Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, p. 39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23; see also Ranke, *Personennamen* I, p. 319.

¹² Gardiner, *Grammar*³, p. 533, Sign X8.

¹³ See Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 25, §42 (2).

¹⁴ Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 266.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

¹⁶ Junker, *Giza* V, pp. 141–142; tomb of Metjen at Saqqara and tomb of Rahotep at Meidum.

¹⁷ Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 289.

¹⁸ Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, pp. 29–30.

¹⁹ Gardiner, *Grammar*³, p. 171. Later on, however, Gardiner preferred to translate the verb *rdjw* not as a relative form, but as a perfective passive participle - see Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938): 89, footnote 1.

²⁰ Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 38.

²¹ I can quote the following two examples of the figure of Anubis occurring in the *htp-dj-njswt* formula: the tomb of Merib (*LD* II, pls. 19–22) and of Seshathotep (I) (*LD* II, pl. 23), both dating to the early Fifth Dynasty.

3. This is probably a variant of “Bitte 1”,²² attested only once from the tomb of Rahotep at Meidum.²³ It reads:

*jj.f m nb jm3h(w) r Jmntt*²⁴ and is translated by Barta as “er möge als Herr des Geehrtseins zum Westen kommen”. The initial *j* in the noun *jm3h* fell off due to the preceding *nb*.²⁵ This, according to Fischer, is quite a common feature during the Old Kingdom. The formula attested from Meidum differs from that of Kanefer in that it uses the preposition “*r*” which precedes the Great God. The “*r*” in the Meidum formula provides the necessary clue as far as the translation is concerned. In this formula the deceased wishes – after the burial ceremonies – to reach the West which denotes the Afterlife (see the following point 4).²⁶ The occurrence of the noun “West” moreover seems also to point towards a conclusion that the terms “West” and “the Great God” may have been considered to a certain degree interchangeable.

It seems very improbable that the offering formula would disappear so quickly from its use, as is supposed in the case of “Bitte 1”. Rather, it seems to be more conceivable that the formula was superseded by another one, similar in its meaning. Such a formula might be for instance *hp.f m htp r Jmntt* and its variants.²⁷

4. Instead of *Jmntt* of “Bitte 1”, as attested at Meidum, here we have the use of *ntr ʕ3*.²⁸ This variant indicates a possible solution relating to the identity of the god who is referred to by the epithet *ntr ʕ3* so frequently used in the offering formulas and elsewhere during the Old Kingdom. This variant indicates that the two terms – *ntr ʕ3* and *Jmntt* might have been closely associated and possibly were understood to be complementary to some degree. Therefore this example may be used in support to the hypothesis that the god referred to as *ntr ʕ3* may have been Osiris, Great God and Lord of the West (see *Remark 2*).

The following part of the text represents “Bitte 5”.²⁹ Here the transposition of *wr* and *nfr*, which is otherwise very seldom featured, is most striking.

The only other evidence comes from the tombs of Imby and Nimaatra at Giza.³⁰ The transposition was probably due to the lack of space at the bottom of column 4. The expression *j3w(t)*³¹ may be in many instances classified as a nominal form.³²

5. The last column comprises again the name of the donor of the plaque, *K3(.j)-nfr*. The name Kanefer is attested from the Third Dynasty onwards.³³ His name is determined by a figure of a seated man which indicates that Kanefer was otherwise not attested elsewhere in the tomb where originally the plaque was set up (see *Remark 1*). The whole artifact with the text must be then understood as an offering made by Kanefer in the tomb of his mother.³⁴

An attempt can be made, at last, to establish the approximate original function and position of the plaque bearing the inscription of Kanefer. It was possible to find the only parallel which seems to accord with the stela found by Borchardt. It is an oblong (0.54 × 0.18 m) offering table belonging to Kai from Giza and dating to the Fifth – Sixth Dynasty.³⁵ The offering table comprises text arranged in several lines and columns. There is a shallow depression in the right part of the table that was to serve as a receptacle during the offering rites at the table. There is a fair possibility that the stele of Kanefer had originally been part of a similar offering basin and that it had been broken off on its right end at some later time. Moreover, the sharp edge on the right side of Kanefer’s stela indicates that some part of it had been broken off, too.³⁶ If such should be the case, it would have been situated in front of an offering niche and it would represent a less suitable and cheaper variant of a more typical offering basin.

²² Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 8.

²³ Petrie, *Medum*, pl.13.

²⁴ Actually, this form is further attested from Dynasty 21, 24, 25, 27 and 30 – see Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 234, but these periods are not relevant for the subject discussed here.

²⁵ Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, pp. 51–53.

²⁶ Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 298.

²⁷ Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 55.

²⁸ For the various forms of writing of this expression see *ibid.*, p. 213.

²⁹ Barta, *Opferformel*, 27.

³⁰ Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 203; Hassan, *Giza* I, p. 92, fig. 155; *Giza* II, fig. 237.

³¹ For the sign itself see for instance Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963): 23–24.

³² Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 202; Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963): 23 (“good old age”).

³³ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 340.10. There are more attestations of this name from the Old Kingdom which are not quoted by Ranke:

– offering table of Kanefer, the Sixth Dynasty (Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des Bas-Reliefs*, LXXX); evidence from the causeway of Unas (*PM* III, pp. 418–419); Kanefer, son of Nikauhor, the late Fifth Dynasty (*PM* III, p. 498) and Kanefer from Dahshur, the Fourth Dynasty (de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour 1894–1895*, p. 23, fig. 54).

³⁴ See Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 25.

³⁵ Abou-Ghazi, *Denkmäler des AR* III, 1, pp. 17–18 (CG 57006).

³⁶ Borchardt, *Sahure* I, p. 149, fig. 196.

There is no definite proof as to the date of the tomb which Borchardt found. It is fairly possible to date the find architecturally (corridor chapels, open court with altars similar to those found at Abusir and dated to the late Fifth Dynasty) to the later Old Kingdom period. Also the Meidum ware can with the spout would seem to corroborate the dating to the second half of the Old Kingdom. The only clue for a more detailed dating of the site is provided by the limestone stele with inscriptions comprising the "Bitte 1" and "5" (although we know virtually nothing of its archaeological context). "Bitte 1" is attested only from the early Fourth Dynasty and is missing entirely from the later periods of the Old and Middle Kingdom.³⁷ Therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that the cluster of tombs in fact dates from either the early Fourth Dynasty or also from the later period. Dating to the early Fourth Dynasty would be consistent with the results of the excavations carried out by the Czech Institute of Egyptology at the Lake of Abusir (see below, Tomb 1) and would establish a closer link between the excavations undertaken by L. Borchardt and M. Verner on the site. Nevertheless, one has to be very cautious in arriving at extreme conclusions which would be in this case based on a single piece of evidence. It is quite certain that the *terminus ante quem non* represents the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty but the tomb might also have been built considerably later.

Borchardt was not the last excavator who was active in the area prior to the excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, even though his exploratory works are best known. There are indications that the area further to the south of the Lake of Abusir became the subject of at least two other excavations in the 40s.

In the first instance, the dig site is still clearly discernible about 100 metres to the south of the valley temple of Nyuserra. Allegedly, according to local villagers, it is the place where a trial digging undertaken by a German archaeologist took place about thirty or forty years ago.³⁸ M. Verner was able to find out that it was L. Keimer who handed over to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo a group of finds consisting of canopic jars, statues, stelae, offering tables, etc. There is still a good possibility that this set of finds in fact comes from this excavation.³⁹

³⁷ Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 234.

³⁸ Verner, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 84.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84, footnote 17.

In the second instance, it was M. Zaki Nour who allegedly carried out some excavations within the Abusir area in 1945 (2. 6. – 12. 6.) and 1946 (3. 3. – 23. 4.). The precise location of his activities is unknown and there has appeared no report on his excavations so far (pl. LXXVIIIb). Most monuments which have been brought to light by Zaki Nour appear to date to the Fifth – Sixth Dynasty and consist of a group of offering tables and libation basins.⁴⁰

Excavation

The area of Borchardt's excavation was chosen for a trial dig carried out by the Czech Institute of Egyptology during the 1993 season. The excavated section is situated about 600 m south of the valley temple of Nyuserra and some 200 m to the west of the area under cultivation. The excavated area lies at the foot of a westward rising slope of the desert, and covers an area of ca 40 x 40 m (fig. 2.2, pl. XI). The mudbrick structures, already discernible during the preliminary surface survey, were lying immediately beneath the desert floor level. Due to this fact the individual groundplans were easy to detect according to the dark, clearly demarcated zones in the desert – the result of the admixture of yellow sand with dust from the decayed mudbrick structures upon which it was lying. During the excavation it soon became clear that there were two chronologically and archaeologically visible units, consisting of a single, large mudbrick mastaba and a group of smaller tombs, which developed secondarily in the close vicinity of the first large tomb.⁴¹ All structures, however, suffered from intense degradation in due course of time caused by wind erosion and occasional streams of water running down the eastward inclined slopes of the Abusir plateau. This water accumulated during heavy rains which occur from time to time in northern Egypt during winter. All structures were according to their architecture and archaeological context dated tentatively to the Old Kingdom period.

2.2 Lake of Abusir Tomb 1

2.2.1 Superstructure

The earliest structure discovered by the trial digging was a rectangular tomb with shell masonry

⁴⁰ Abou-Ghazi, *Denkmäler des AR* III,2, pp. 30-31 (CG 57028), 31 (CG 57029), 32 (CG 57031), 39 (CG 57044), 40 (CG 57045 and 57046).

⁴¹ Verner, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 86-90; 87, fig. 10 - plan of the excavated area.

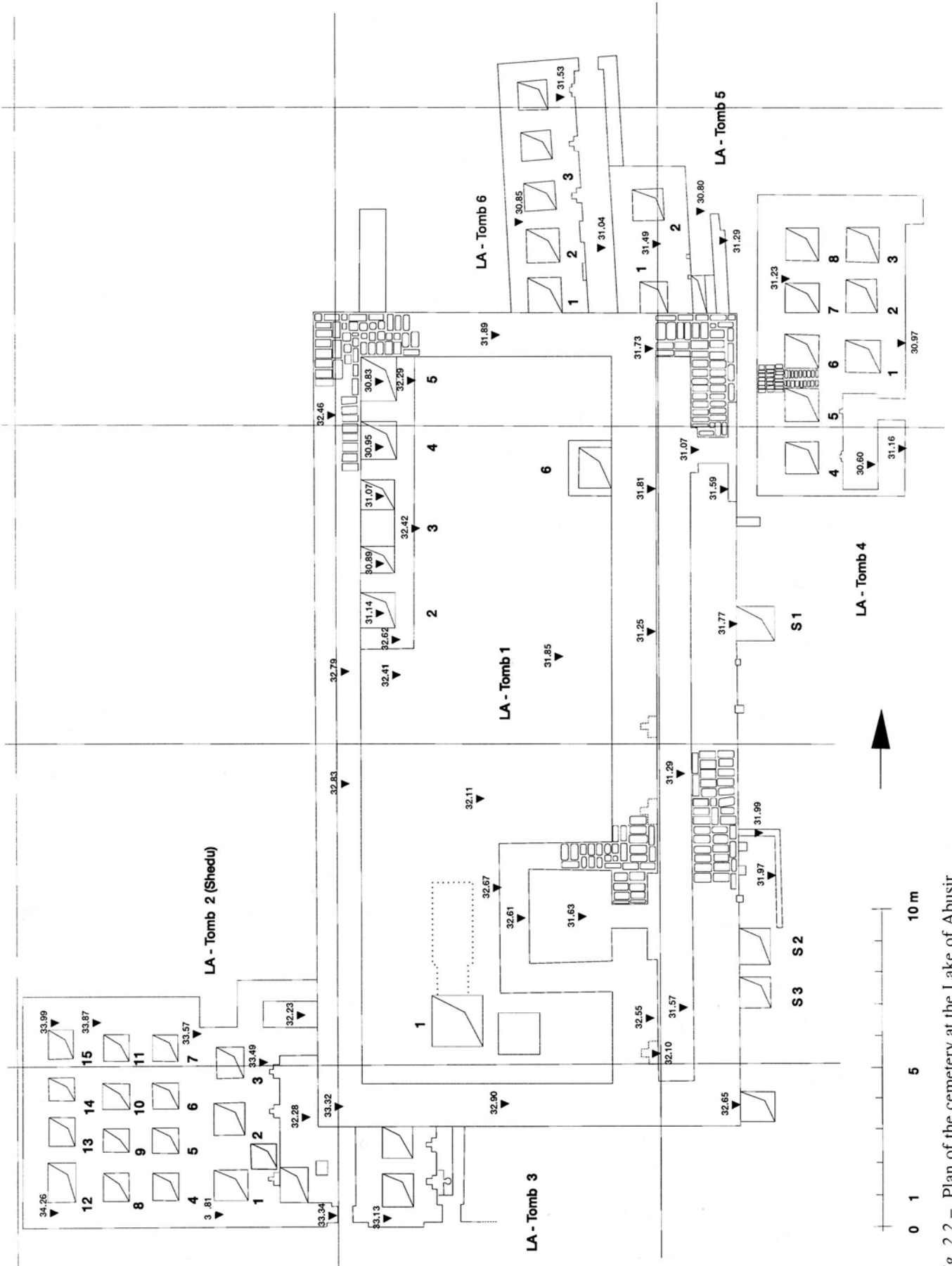


Fig. 2.2 – Plan of the cemetery at the Lake of Abusir

orientated in a north-south direction, with a plain facade. It measured 25.65×13.10 m in plan. The tomb was built of dark grey mudbricks of particularly large dimensions ($0.55 \times 0.26 \times 0.16$ m) joined with light-brown muddy mortar. Mudbricks of a comparative size and date were found only in Dahshur, and were used for the construction of the enclosure wall (and buildings abutting on its inner sides) of the Red Pyramid of Sneferu. A section of this wall was uncovered to the north-east of the Red Pyramid. The mudbricks in this wall were only slightly smaller in size measuring about $0.43 \times 0.20 \times 0.15$ m).⁴² The only place at Saqqara where similar mudbricks were used, however, belongs to a slightly later date. The evidence comes from the tomb of Kaemheset and from the tomb lying to the north of this one, the mudbricks measuring $0.52 \times 0.20 \times 0.20$ and $0.52-3 \times 0.26 \times 0.19$ m, respectively.⁴³ The tombs are dated tentatively to the Fourth – Fifth Dynasties.⁴⁴

The mastaba was delineated by 1.50 m thick outer walls which were originally plastered with a 0.02–0.025 m thick coat of muddy yellowish-grey mortar. This was then covered with a red ochre wash. The entrance leading into the superstructure was in its east face, situated near the north-east corner of the tomb. The porticus of the entrance was 3.15 m wide and provided access to an entrance passage 0.80 m wide and 0.95 m long. On the western end of the entrance there was another porticus (1.40 m wide) and in its south corner was found a shallow depression for a pivot for a one-leaf wooden door which once closed the entrance from inside. This entrance leads into a long corridor chapel which runs towards the south; it is 22.90 m long and 1.10–1.15 m wide and covers the whole eastern facade of the tomb.⁴⁵ Again, the walls of the corridor chapel were plastered with a 2.00–2.50 cm thick coat of yellowish-grey mud which was subsequently whitewashed. It is quite possible that originally, the corridor was roofed but no remains of the brick vault were found (pl. XII).⁴⁶

The area to the west of the corridor, enclosed within the shell walls of the tomb, was filled with

tafl from the underground of the tomb, loose rubble and sand. All four external corners of the tomb had originally been strengthened by limestone pillars (pl. XIIIa). These had been, however, removed in due course of time. Pillars in the northeast and northwest corners were each placed on a limestone block (which has still survived), the other two were placed on a bed made of mudbrick.

The west wall of the corridor chapel was decorated with three small compound niches, two of them being to the north and one to the south of the entrance into the chapel. In the southern part of the corridor, on the west wall, there was another recess 2.70 m wide followed by a short east-west aligned passage (0.70 m wide and 1.10 m long) – an entrance into a smaller room representing the interior chapel of the tomb. This chapel had a roughly rectangular ground plan measuring 2.60 (E–W) \times 2.80–2.90 (N–S) m (pl. XIIIb). The walls of the chapel entrance were whitewashed in contrast to the walls of the chapel itself. The floor of the chapel was made of beaten clay and was 0.15 m higher than the level of the mud floor in the corridor. The chapel itself was devoid of any decoration and even architectural elements (such as a false door in the west wall). There were no traces of plaster on the walls of the chapel.

The lack of any treatment of the chapel walls poses an uneasy problem concerning its original appearance. Given the development of the Saqqara building tradition during the Third – early Fourth Dynasty, it seems probable that the chapel was left undecorated.⁴⁷ Since there were no traces of the original limestone casing that would have been typical for a chapel of a higher official, the likeliest possibility is that the chapel was originally plastered white. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that no imprints whatever of any sort of wall casing for the chapel walls (wooden panels or limestone blocks) could be found during the excavation.

The possible reconstruction of the superstructure raises some problems as well. The outer walls of the tomb were perpendicular. The inner space of the tomb, delineated by its shell walls, was filled with rubble and sand. Due to these characteristics it seems probable that the superstructure of the tomb might resemble those of the secondary graves built around the large tombs of the First and Second Dynasties at Saqqara and Tarkhan.

⁴² Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 39 (1983): 227, fig. 1. The approximate size of the mudbricks given above has been inferred from this plan.

⁴³ Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, p. 34. For the unnamed tomb see Saad, *ASAE* 42 (1943): 452, pl. 37A.

⁴⁴ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, p. 5; *PM* III, p. 499.

⁴⁵ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, p. 272, chapel Type 8.

⁴⁶ See the parallels given by Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 259–262.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 204–205.

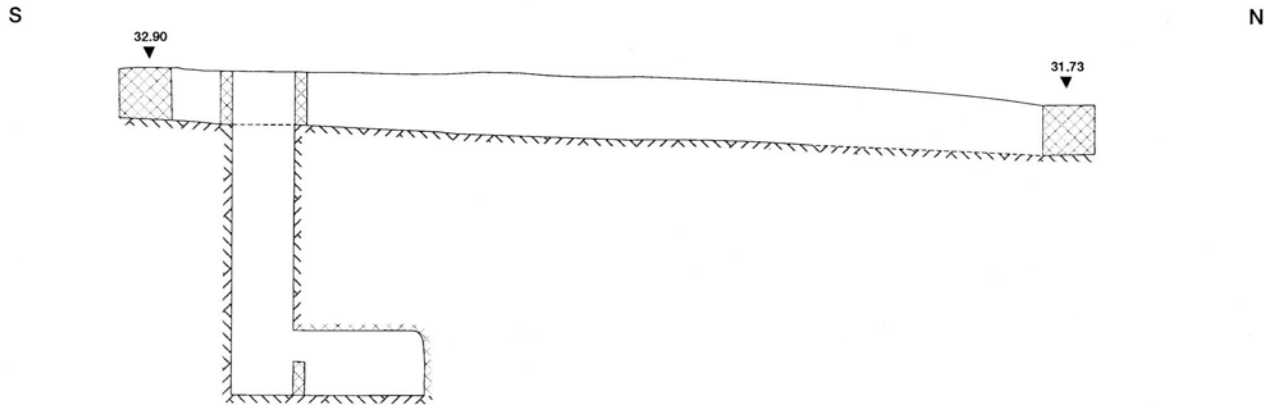


Fig. 2.3 – Section of Tomb 1 (1:200)

Many graves, large and small, were built in this way at Tarkhan. The small “secondary” graves were built of a shell mudbrick masonry whose interior space was filled with sand and rubble. The tops of the tombs were then faced with a single layer of mudbricks. The bricks forming the roof were built in the shape of an arch.⁴⁸ This kind of construction is known from the reign of Den onwards.⁴⁹ Worth mentioning is the fact that this mode of construction undoubtedly represented a very cheap and quick architectural construction. It is for this reason that the technique was later on very frequently employed for building large tombs in the area known as Quibell’s Archaic Cemetery at North Saqqara. So far it might be correct to suppose that the top of this mastaba (and the tops of the mastabas in Archaic Cemetery, too) were covered with a single layer – or more – of mudbricks. The top of the tomb would then have been shaped as a convex curve rising slightly towards the centre of the mastaba (for draining off the water). Such a kind of construction is for instance attested from Mastaba T at Giza (in this case, however, the tomb superstructure is of massive mudbrick masonry, i.e. without loose filling).⁵⁰

The roof construction of this kind would enable easy access to the shafts which were prepared for the burials – in many cases the tombs comprise within their superstructure more than a single shaft, so that we cannot suppose that all

the burials were made at the one time. In Meidum, the tops of some mastabas such as M 6, 9 and 16 were filled with 1–1.6 metres layer of rubble and sand which was there to soak up the rain water. In the case of M 16, the body of the mastaba was filled with fluid mud,⁵¹ whereas the body of both M 6 and 9 was filled with mudbrick.⁵² The examples outlined above indicate that two variants for finishing the roofs of the tombs were used. The first variant is represented by the tombs whose roofs were covered by a layer of mudbrick; the second variant is found with tombs for which the roofs were left bare, with a loose rubble filling being exposed to the air. That the fashion of building tombs consisting of shell masonry with rubble fill was still popular at the early Fourth Dynasty is attested by recently excavated tombs at Dahshur from the reign of Sneferu.⁵³

To the south of the chapel was excavated in the bedrock a shaft (serdab?) measuring 1.30 × 1.30 m in groundplan and 1.70 m deep and filled with *tafl*.

2.2.2 Substructure

To the southwest of the chapel there was an opening of the 8.50 m deep vertical shaft. The shaft was lined to a depth of 1.50 m with dark grey mudbricks (with the inclusion of straw) measuring 0.50 × 0.24 × 0.16 m. The remaining part of the shaft was hewn out of the *tafl* bedrock and was left

⁴⁸ Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, pp. 4–5; pls. 15–16.

⁴⁹ Emery, *Great Tombs II*, p. 13; 12, fig. 5; pls. 8 and 15); Kaiser, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, p. 31.

⁵⁰ Covington, *ASAE* 6 (1905): 201.

⁵¹ Petrie, *Medum*, p. 14.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 17.

⁵³ Stadelmann et al., *MDAIK* 49 (1993): 273 (Tomb M I/1); 280 (Tomb M II/1); 284 (Tomb M I/2) and 288 (Tomb M III/1).

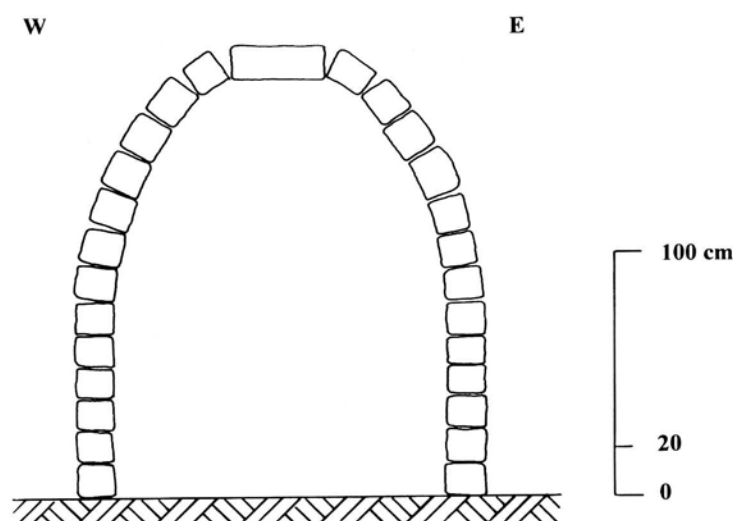


Fig. 2.4 – Scheme of the mudbrick vault in the burial chamber of Tomb 1

unlined. The filling of the shaft consisted of wind-blown sand to a depth of 1.50 m and the remainder was *tafl* fill. In its northeast corner alone, there was a filling of wind-blown sand, indicating the way by which the burial chamber was robbed. At the bottom of the shaft, on its north side, there was a simple vaulted burial chamber (lined with mudbricks measuring $0.50 \times 0.24 \times 0.16$ m (fig. 2.4, pl. XIV). The courses of bricks making the vault were inclined and leaned against the rear wall of the chamber (“la voûte à lits inclinés”).⁵⁴

Into the burial chamber led a short corridor passage 0.92 m long and 1.04 m wide. The north-south oriented chamber itself measured 2.50×1.30 m, 1.70 m high and covering an area of 3.25 sq. m. (close to Reisner’s Type 4a).⁵⁵ From the height of 0.80 m above ground a vault made of the same mudbricks was laid in a single course in thickness which arched into its centre. This type of vault (bonding type c1) was applied in Egyptian architecture from the Third Dynasty onwards,⁵⁶ and is attested from this time at tombs at

Saqqara,⁵⁷ Bêt Khallâf and Reqâqneh.⁵⁸ The walls and the ceiling of the chamber were covered with a layer almost 0.02 m thick of the yellowish-brown (originally perhaps white) plaster with considerable inclusions of sand and straw.

The entrance into the chamber was originally sealed with a dry-laid wall made of mudbricks measuring $0.37 \times 0.16 \times 0.13$ m and laid in regular courses of headers and stretchers.⁵⁹ Inside the severely robbed chapel were found only the humble skeletal remains of a man’s burial belonging to the owner of the tomb (Excav. No. 3/LA-5/93).

In the northwest corner of the superstructure a row of four shafts was built (fig. 2.5). These probably originate from a later period, since they bore no relation to the original plan of the tomb. All four shafts were lined with mudbricks down to the bottom and are not very deep. They contained no burials although these were probably intended. This row of four shallow shafts was framed from the east and south by a single mudbrick wall, on the west and north side adjoining the wall of the tomb. The shafts were separated from each other by short partition walls laid in an east-west direction.

⁵⁴ A similar type of construction has, for instance, been uncovered during the excavation of the tomb of Imapepy at Balat, Dakhleh – see *Balat II*, pp. 70–71; pl. 28, A–B.

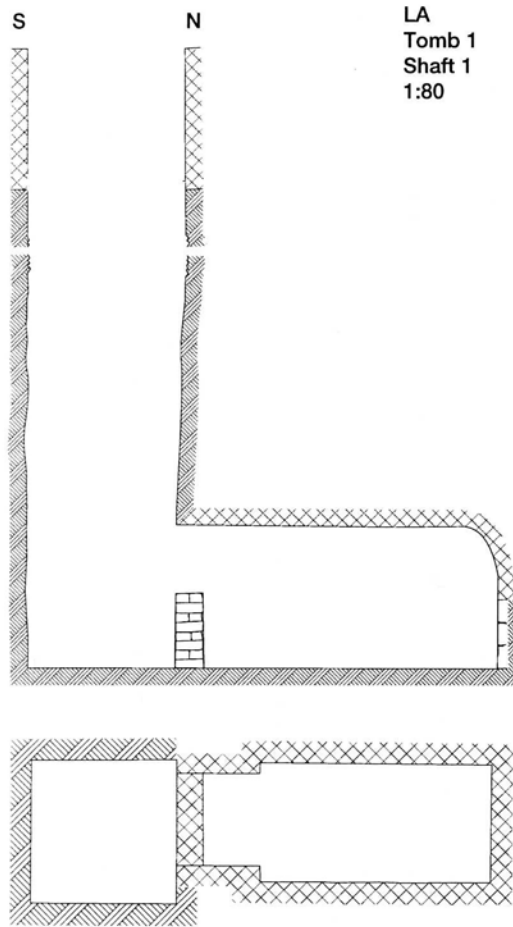
⁵⁵ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 87, p. 94, fig. 41.

⁵⁶ Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, Corpus, pl. 17. Brinks, *LÄ II* (1977), col. 590; 593, fig. 4 (Bogengewölbe im Kufverband). The vaults of this type were preceded by the “Kraggewölbe” – Haeny, *LÄ I* (1975), col. 1001, endnote 9. For the vaults documented at Giza see also Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza*, pp. 129–143 by A. Badawy.

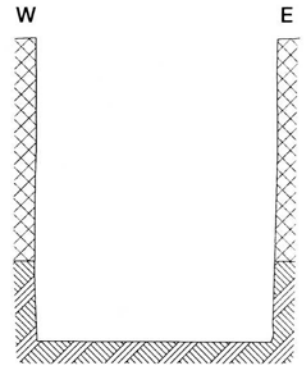
⁵⁷ Emery, *Great Tombs III*, p. 102; pl. 116.

⁵⁸ Garstang, *Reqâqnah and Bêt Khallâf*, p. 28; pls. 5–6; 14.

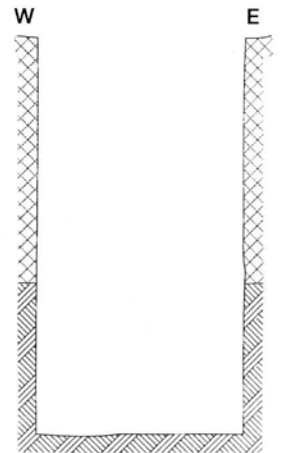
⁵⁹ Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, Corpus, pl. 1, bond A1.



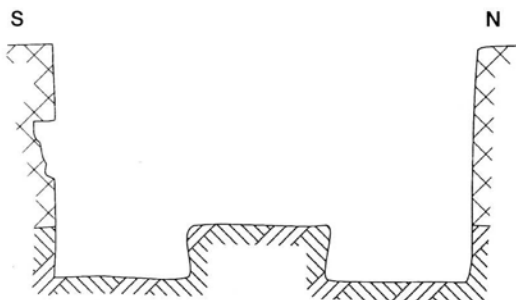
LA
Tomb 1
Shaft 4
1:40



LA
Tomb 1
Shaft 5
1:40



LA
Tomb 1
Shaft 2
1:50



LA
Tomb 1
Shaft 6
1:40

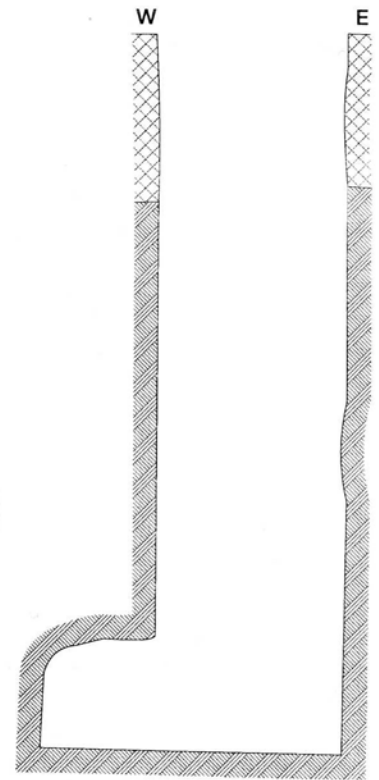


Fig. 2.5 – Burial shafts from Tomb 1

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.14 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 1.40 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks (0.50 × 0.24 × 0.20 m) in courses of headers and stretchers.

Filling: 0–1.14 m wind-blown sand, 1.14–1.40 m wind-blown sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 3

Shaft opening: 1.10 × 2.85 m.

Depth: 1.55 m. At a depth of 1.20 the shaft divides into two areas measuring 1.10 × 0.90 m. The walls of the shaft were lined to a depth of 1.20 m with *tafl* mudbrick (0.28 × 0.13 × 0.08 cm).

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 4

Shaft opening: 1.16 × 1.20 m.

Depth: 1.44 m. The walls were lined to a depth of 1.06 m with mudbrick (0.53 × 0.26 × 0.20 cm).

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 5

Shaft opening: 1.10 × 1.40 m.

Depth: 2.10 m. A shaft lined to a depth of 1.30 m with mudbricks of double dimensions (0.53 × 0.24 × 0.20 and 0.28 × 0.15 × 0.09 cm).

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: No burial.

At the northeast corner of the tomb was situated Shaft 6. This shaft has presumably been built as a secondary shaft, too.

Shaft 6

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 1.30 m.

Depth: 3.80 m. The walls of the shaft were lined to a depth of 0.90 m with mudbrick (0.29 × 0.15 × 0.08 cm).

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: There was a burial niche in the west wall, 0.60 m high and 0.60 m deep, but there was no burial.

2.2.3 Conclusions

As far as the dating of the architecture of the tomb is concerned, it seems probable that the tomb originates either from the late Third or early Fourth Dynasty. Its superstructure – a long north-south oriented corridor leading into a chapel situated at

the southern end of its west wall, its construction consisting of a shell masonry filled with *tafl*, sand and rubble – clearly indicate the influence of the older traditions on the tomb building of Quibell's Archaic Cemetery at North Saqqara. The schema of the tomb's substructure, with its vertical shaft and the single burial chamber at the bottom, were introduced at the end of the Third and the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. The shaft is almost identical to Reisner's type VI (variant b)⁶⁰ with the exception that the burial chamber is not lined with stone blocks but with mudbricks.⁶¹

Another exception to the rule is that the burial chamber is placed to the north and not, as was the norm at that time, to the south of the shaft. This is probably due to the intention of the architect to place the burial chamber to the west of the offering chapel. Further evidence for such a dating is provided by the use of fairly similar mudbricks at the north pyramid at Dahshur.

There are some other clearly discernible older tendencies both in the superstructure and substructure. In the superstructure it is the missing core masonry: here we find only loose filling of *tafl* and rubble. This is clearly a tradition established in the Second – Third Dynasty tombs at Saqqara – a tradition which survived until the early reign of Sneferu. The roots of this tradition can be found in Quibell's Archaic Cemetery at North Saqqara where most of the mastabas' masonry is built in this rather economic way.⁶² Indirectly, it is possible to link this kind of fill-masonry with the great tombs of the First Dynasty at North Saqqara. These tombs were built in such a way that their superstructures were divided by partition walls into rows of compartments.⁶³

These chambers were, in fact, originally designed to support a roof construction. The only surviving evidence for such a kind of construction comes from the tomb of Hemaka where the chambers were filled with sand and successively covered with reed mats, log beams, wooden planks, reed mats again and, finally, brick roofing.⁶⁴ During the reign of Den the chamber-like construction of the superstructure began to retreat and superstructure was simply filled with loose material such as sand and rubble. Such a filling may have been covered

⁶⁰ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, p. 366.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁶² Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pls. 1–2.

⁶³ Kaiser, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, p. 30.

⁶⁴ Emery, *Hemaka*, p. 4; 5, fig. 2; pl. 2.

⁶⁵ Kaiser, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, p. 31.

with single or several courses of mudbrick in the final stage of the tomb construction.⁶⁵

The long north-south orientated corridor entered from the east can be associated with the older tradition originating in the Archaic Cemetery at North Saqqara as well. This tradition is well attested by the architecture of tombs S 2304 and S 2305 which both possess the long corridor giving access into the chapel situated on the south end of the west wall. These two tombs are apparently of a later date than most of the tombs on this cemetery. This dating is based on their position within this area (close to the west end of the cemetery excavated by Quibell)⁶⁶ and on the mud seal of Netjerikhet found in shaft c of tomb S 2305.⁶⁷ Both tombs adjoin the large mastaba S 2303 from the south. The corridor of tomb S 2305 was entered from the east in its northern section, while the corridor of tomb S 2304 was entered from the west in its northern section. This discrepancy was due to the corridor's position within the earlier tombs, which only allowed access from the west.

Interestingly enough, almost all mastabas of this Archaic Cemetery lacked finds of pottery, whereas stone vessels or fragments of them occurred in large quantities. This is probably also the reason why LA – Tomb 1 was devoid of any finds, including the pottery.

2.3 Lake of Abusir Tomb 2, Tomb of Shedu

2.3.1. Superstructure

This tomb abuts on Tomb 1 at its southwest corner. The rectangular plan of this tomb is oriented in an east-west direction. The superstructure of the tomb consists of two parts. The eastern part is designed as a chapel entered from the south. The chapel, irregular in ground plan measures 4.60 m (N–S) × 2.35 m (E–W, south part) and 1.15 m (E–W, north part) with a central wooden pillar base (0.50 × 0.40 m). This pillar originally supported a flat roof made of organic materials.

In the west wall of the chapel were three double-recessed niches corresponding directly with the first row of the shaft openings which were placed to the west of them. To the east of the pillar base, along the east wall of the chapel, was a wooden beam still lying *in situ* (diam. 0.10 m, length 1.20 m). This originally served as a roof

north-south laid beam carrying the weight of the roof construction (pl. XVa). Across it transverse planks, probably covered with mats making the roof, were laid.⁶⁸ Such a roof could then finally be covered by another layer consisting of mudbricks coated with plaster.⁶⁹ In most cases, these flat roofs were built with a slight inclination so that rainwater could easily drain off the surface.

To the west of the court stood the massif of the mastaba with fifteen shaft openings which led into the burial niches/rooms below. There were altogether four north-south running rows of shafts, each row consisting of four shafts, making a total of twelve. The three shafts in the easternmost row were proportionally larger than the remaining shafts, and clearly were intended for the main members of the family.

Above the floor level of the court, at the west wall, about 1.50 m to the north of the south wall of the chapel was found a small limestone offering table with the *htp* sign and three bands of inscriptions (pl. XVb, Excav. No. 1/LA–5/93).⁷⁰ The table was found approximately half the distance between the southernmost and central niche in the chapel, close to its west wall. The table was lying on a layer of deposits which had accumulated in the chapel. The inscription was cut in badly executed sunk relief on the west, south and north rims of the basin. The inscriptions comprise some offering formulae, as well as the title and name of Shedu. This basin is dealt with in detail below. Its position corresponded closely with a small serdab which was concealed in the masonry of the superstructure, a short distance further to the west of the court.

The serdab (0.50 × 0.35 m) was situated to the east of the easternmost row of the shafts. This rather atypical position of the serdab finds its parallel in the Giza tomb of Neferen of the Sixth Dynasty,⁷¹ in the “Blockmastaba”⁷² and in the

⁶⁸ In ancient Egyptian architecture there is in most cases no distinction between a roof and a ceiling. The same type of construction was simultaneously to fulfil both functions – Haeny, *LÄ I* (1975), cols. 974–976; *idem*, *LÄ I* (1975), col. 998.

⁶⁹ For this type of roof construction see Endruweit, *Städtischer Wohnbau*, pp. 46–47; 47, fig. 7; pl. 1B. According to New Kingdom parallels the transverse wooden beams had been laid in regular intervals of about 0.70 m and the thickness of the mudbrick layer reached about 0.10–0.25 m. In several instances the wooden beams had been laid closely side by side – Haeny, *LÄ I* (1975), col. 999.

⁷⁰ Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, p. 89.

⁷¹ *PM III*, p. 120. Junker, *Giza VI*, p. 199, fig. 73.

⁷² Junker, *Giza VI*, p. 205, fig. 77.

⁷³ Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 61, fig. 23.

⁶⁶ Quibell, *Archaic Cemetery*, pl. 1.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

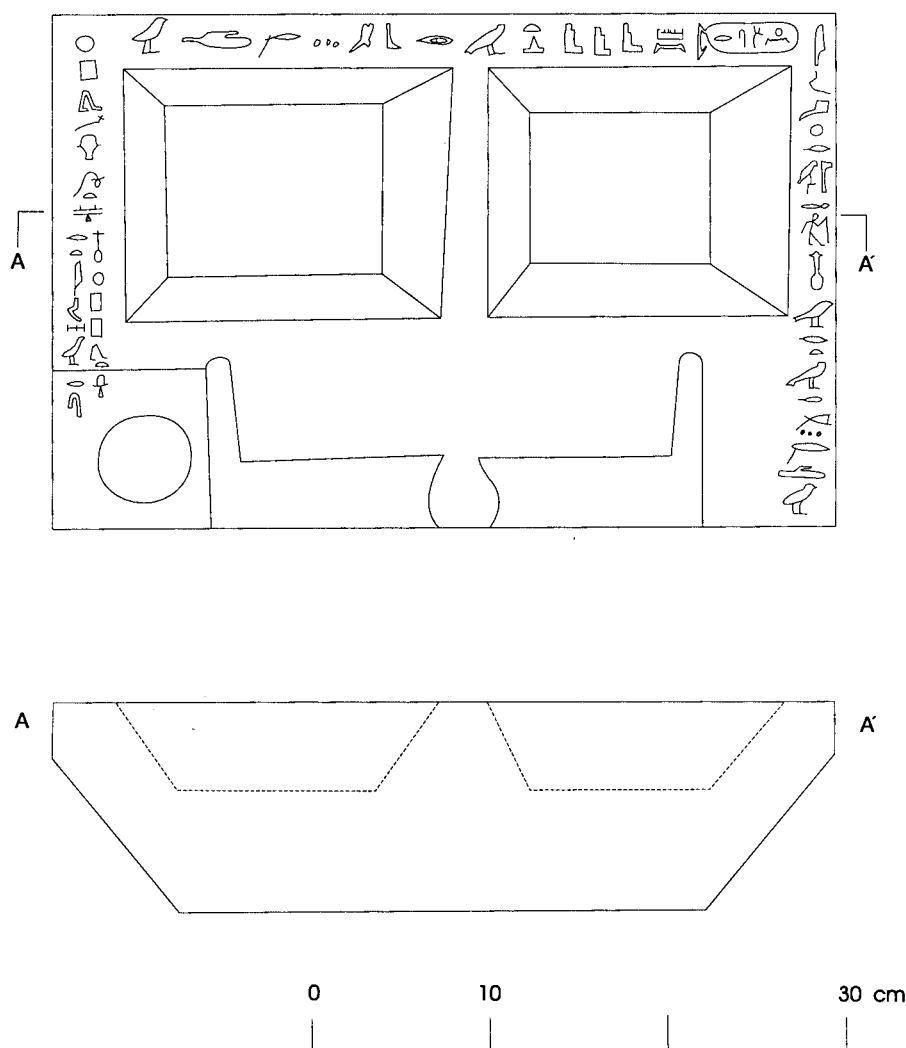


Fig. 2.6 – Limestone offering table from the chapel of Shedu (Tomb 2)

tomb of Nikaukhnum⁷³ at Giza. In this small serdab two standing wooden statues facing east (Excav. No. 6a, b/LA-5/93) were originally placed. Unfortunately, these were found as only two, almost decayed wooden statue bases made of acacia wood. They were discovered in such a sad state of preservation that no further details of the statues regarding their sex, age or inscriptions were discernible any more. In the south, there probably was a standing female figure. The basis measured 37 x 12–17 cm, being only 2 cm high. The length of the feet was 4.5 cm. In the north, fragments of a similar statue base of a male, corpulent statue could be identified (pl. XVIa).

There were three double-recessed niches embedded in the west wall of the chapel. The fact that there were niches instead of a false door, and that these niches were devoid of any inscription, indicates the inferior status of the tomb-owners.

In the northwest corner of the chapel, in the

northernmost niche, three wooden standing statues were uncovered. They probably represented Shedu (male statue, in the centre of the group), his wife (to the north) and their son (to the south) portrayed as a young naked boy (pls. LXXIX, XVIIb).⁷⁴ The statues were decayed to such a degree that it was impossible to study them properly and to be able to determine the original appearance of the most important features necessary for dating a wooden statue (coiffure, dress and the positioning of the arms).⁷⁵

Male statue (Excav. No. 2a/LA-5/93)

This sculpture consisted of the upper part of a striding male statue (representing Shedu?), starting from above the knees, with parts of his arms

⁷⁴ Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, p. 88.

⁷⁵ Harvey, in *Fs Te Velde*, p. 173; *idem*, in Ziegler, ed., *L'art de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 361.

broken off (pl. XVII). The face is rounded, with pronounced and wide almond-shaped eyes and a thick eyebrow line. The nose is rounded and wide, with emphasized nostrils. The lips are correspondingly thick but relatively small in comparison with the size of the face. The statue is wearing a heavily curled echelon wig, ending just above the shoulders and completely hiding the ears.⁷⁶ The arms are missing and were detached. According to other parallels, it may be only conjectured that originally the left arm would be bent, holding a staff, the right arm hanging along the body and holding a sceptre.⁷⁷

The statue is shown striding, with the projecting panel kilt ending above the knees and with the knot still discernible.⁷⁸ The length of the preserved statue is 54 cm (shoulder width without arms 11 cm) and it corresponds with some other medium-sized wooden statues such as CG 268 (height 1.01 m), CG 270 (height 0.79 m), Louvre statues E 6207 b, AF 456 (0.83 m)⁷⁹ and E 6207 d, AF 458 (0.71 m).⁸⁰ The relatively large head, the wide shoulders, the fine modelling of the body and the apparently pinched waist permit the possibility that the statue is to be included in the repertoire of the so-called "Second style" of the Sixth Dynasty.⁸¹ No traces of the original paint were preserved.

Female statue (Excav. No. 2b/LA-5/93)

This partly preserved statue consists of the upper part of a female body with the base, the statue being preserved only from above the knees with the head broken off (pls. XVIII, LXXXa). The face is rounded and the figure wears a heavy striated wig with traces of black paint, ending only above the shoulders and completely covering the ears. Since the face was partly eroded, its features are not as clear as in the previous case. The woman had relatively narrow almond-shaped eyes and a narrow thin-lipped mouth.

As in the previous case the body shows fine modelling with perhaps a rather longer neck and with a narrow waist. Originally, the body was plastered white and painted. The statue is clad in a long, ankle-length (originally white) sheath dress.⁸² She wears a beaded broad *šnw* collar, still partly visible with a beaded cord reaching down to the navel, whose lower part is damaged and was probably terminated by an amulet representing either two ovals pierced diagonally with a thorn-like object or a protective turtle. One may still observe individual components (probably glazed beads?) of the collar painted yellow and red.⁸³ The skin is painted yellow.

The overall length of the preserved statue is 0.43 m (14 cm shoulder width). It stands with the legs together. The statue base was only partly preserved (and broken into two parts), measuring 12.5 × 14 cm (first part) and 9 × 12.5 cm (the second part), 3.5 cm high. The arms of the statue were terminated by disproportionally long fingers.⁸⁴

Statue of a child, son of Shedū (?), (Excav. No. 2c/LA-5/93c)

This piece shows the upper part of a child statue of a boy with the base, the statue being preserved from the knees upward (pls. XIX, XXXb). The oval head has a close-fitting, black painted coiffure (natural hair?) starting low on the forehead and leaving the ears visible.⁸⁵ The fleshy face, though much weathered, shows similar features as the previous two statues, i.e. almond-shaped narrow eyes and pronounced narrow lips. On the neck he wears an openwork broad collar, partly damaged and a long necklace reaching the height of the navel whose lower part is again damaged. As in the previous case, one may still observe individual components (probably glazed beads?) of the collar and the necklace painted yellow, red and black.

The naked body has a pinched waist and in the groin a penis is present; it had been added sepa-

⁷⁶ See for instance the statues of Metjety in Brooklyn – Fazzini, Romano, Cody, *Art for Eternity*, pp. 52–53.

⁷⁷ For close parallels see a wooden statue published in Page-Gasser, Wiese, *Augenblicke der Ewigkeit*, No. 31, pp. 58–59; statue of Mitri in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Hayes, *The Sceptre I*, p. 112, fig. 65; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, CG 32, p. 31, pl. 8; CG 370, pp. 194–195, pl. 59.

⁷⁸ Harvey, in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 370, fig. 2, Type D3; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, CG 268, pp. 170–171, pl. 57; CG 270, pp. 171–172, pl. 58.

⁷⁹ Ziegler, *Statues Égyptiennes*, No. 51, pp. 183–188.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 53, pp. 189–191.

⁸¹ Russmann, *MDAIK* 51 (1995): 269–279.

⁸² For the wig and the dress compare Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, CG 139, p. 103, pl. 31.

⁸³ For these Old Kingdom beaded collars and the amulets see Brovarski, in *Studies Bell*, pp. 137–162, espec. p. 143, fig. 4a and f. For the amulets see *ibid.*, pp. 160–162. For the turtle amulets see Fischer, *Turtles*, p. 25ff.

⁸⁴ Russmann, *MDAIK* 51 (1995): 274.

⁸⁵ See *Égypte et Méditerranée*, p. 27, No. 68.

⁸⁶ Quite frequently, naked statues are shown in a striding attitude, left hand bent and holding a staff, right arm at the side and holding a *Steinkern* or a *sekhem* sceptre – see *Egyptian Art*, No. 189, pp. 462–463 (statue of Meryrehaistef) and No. 190, p. 464 (Tjetji). For the yellow-skinned male statues see Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963): 17–22.

rately. The long arms of the yellow skinned statue hang along the body,⁸⁶ the right hand broken off and bunched in a fist, the left one clasped around a "Steinkern" – most plausibly a folded piece of cloth ("handkerchief").⁸⁷

The overall length of the statue is 0.34 m (8 cm shoulder width). The statue base was entirely preserved, though it was broken into two parts; it measures 27 × 13 cm, and is 5.5 cm high (pl. XXa). The base shows that the child was modelled in a striding attitude.

All the statues were made up of three parts – the body and the arms joined together by means of tenons. This is shown most clearly on the statue of the woman with her tenon still preserved on the left arm. The statues were coated with plaster in places where dress was depicted and painted. The original height of the statues may be only estimated according to proportions of individual parts of the body, being approximately 66 cm for the male, 60 cm for the female and again 56 (?) cm for the child figure.⁸⁸

Due to the poor state of preservation for the wood, no inscriptions could be detected on the statue bases. There are, however, several indications as to their date. The close-fitting coiffure of the boy cannot be earlier than the reign of Izezi;⁸⁹ the existence of the female statue in the group (wooden statues of women disappear after the reign of Unas and reappear only during the reign of Merenra),⁹⁰ the knee-length kilt of the male statue (occurring between the reigns of Nyusera and Unas)⁹¹ and the fact that the statues formed a group is indicative of the reign of Unas and later.⁹² Of significance is also the execution of the bodies and the facial features which are indicative of the "Second Style" typical for the late Old Kingdom (mainly the Sixth Dynasty).⁹³

These statues were not found in their original position but were probably removed from another serdab of the tomb abutting on the north of the chapel. This room was about 1.30 m deep and 1.65 (E–W) × 0.85 (N–S) m in plan. The rather atypical position of the second serdab is probably due to the modified plan of the tomb.

In the southwest corner of the chapel was the opening of a 2.10 m deep shaft (opening 0.90 × 1.00 m) at the bottom of which (at a depth of 3.20 m) was found the burial of an elderly dog, probably the family pet (pl. XXb).⁹⁴ At a depth of 1.60 m in the filling of the shaft (consisting of yellow sand with articulated mudbricks) were found three preserved beer-jars and fragments of mud seals. The dog was lying at the bottom of the pit, on the right side with its head to the south. Around the burial were clear traces of charcoal which together with beer jars from the shaft probably represent the silent remains of a funeral ceremony. There is no indication of the original equipment of the chapel with any monument relating to the dog. This corresponds to the common practice attested from the tombs where dogs are in most cases depicted without names.⁹⁵

This burial is also rare archaeological evidence for keeping pets by the ancient Egyptians. Among the most prominent pets during the Old Kingdom were – apart from dogs – donkeys.⁹⁶ Among the earliest examples of animal burials within the predynastic-protodynastic cemeteries undoubtedly fall those encountered at Hierakonpolis, Locality 6, where several dogs (Tomb 5), cattle (Tomb 7) and baboons (Tomb 12) were buried.⁹⁷ Burials of pets within the area of the tomb are, on the contrary, quite rare during the Old Kingdom. From tomb 2050 at Tarkhan dated to the First Dynasty is attested the burial of three donkeys.⁹⁸ From the virtually same period (reign of Den), a similar practice is attested from Abusir. There the burials

⁸⁷ As identified by Fischer, *MMJ* 10 (1975): 9–21. According to Harvey, in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 362, there are only two parallels with the statue of Shedw one being the statue in the British Museum from the reign of Teti, see p. 375, fig. 9. One may perhaps also add a statue from Turin (Inv. Suppl. 1197) published in Roveri, *Egyptian Civilisation. Turin*, p. 128, fig. 202 – the statue has left arm beside the body. The right arm is missing but it is very probable that it was modelled in the same attitude, i.e. hanging along the body.

⁸⁸ On problems connected to the canon and proportion in statuary see Robins, *Proportion and Style*, pp. 62–63.

⁸⁹ Harvey, in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 361.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

⁹¹ *Idem*, in *Fs Te Velde*, p. 173 and footnote 12 with references.

⁹² Harvey, in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 365–366.

⁹³ Russmann, *MDAIK* 51 (1995): 269–279.

⁹⁴ Excav. No. 5/LA–6/93 – *Canis familiaris* (see an unpublished report by V. Černý and E. Strouhal, "The corpus of anthropological material from the excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology at Abusir South, Seasons 1991 and 1993," Prague 1995, p. 67).

⁹⁵ Janssen, *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 176.

⁹⁶ Brunner-Traut, *LÄ III* pp. (1980), col. 1054. See also Brewer, Redford, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 98–119.

⁹⁷ Adams, in Spencer, ed., *Aspects of Early Egypt*, p. 6.

⁹⁸ Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, p. 6; pl. 18, burial 2052 in the corridor to the south of tomb 2050.

⁹⁹ Boessneck, van den Driesch, Eissa, *MDAIK* 48 (1992): 1; 9, fig. 1.

of three donkeys placed to the south of Tomb 4 were discovered.⁹⁹ Burials of the dogs are attested only from the Early Dynastic cemeteries at Umm el-Qaab and at North Saqqara. The exceptional burials of the dogs at el-Qaab were marked by small limestone stelae with their names.¹⁰⁰ At North Saqqara, there are two more attestations of dog burials.¹⁰¹ Another burial of a dog is indirectly attested from Giza from the late Old Kingdom tomb (G 2188).¹⁰² Two dogs' burials were discovered also in the course of the French excavations at the late Old Kingdom cemetery at Balat, Dakhleh, in the tomb of Medunefier.¹⁰³ These two dogs were probably kept as pets by Medunefier's family.

Within the superstructure of the tomb, to the west of the cult chapel, there were altogether four approximately north-south aligned rows of shafts. Originally, the tomb had been undoubtedly planned as a small, two-generation tomb – as a tomb clearly enough intended for a married couple and a child. This fact is attested by finds of double and triple standing statues in the first serdab and in the chapel and also by the results of anthropological examination. Thus within the western part of the original superstructure only one row of three shafts (shafts 1–3) was planned (fig. 2.7). After their building the west perpendicular face of the tomb was finished (see recess in the northern face of the tomb, adjoining to Shaft 3).

In the second stage the three additional rows of shafts – each with four shaft openings – were appended to the original plan of stage 1 from the west (shafts 4–15, figs. 2.8–2.9). The final plan of the tomb resulted in a complex serving several generations and oriented with its longer axis in an east-west direction.

During the first stage of the tomb construction, the tomb was presumably provided only with the statues of a man and a woman. These statues had been placed in the serdab to the west of the chapel. When it became clear that their son would be buried in their tomb as well, it was decided to

build another serdab which could accommodate a group of statues including their son.¹⁰⁴

The reason why a statue portraying him as a young boy standing besides his parents was chosen is a puzzle. Was it perhaps to give him a family identity, which, to a certain degree, would emphasise the generation or authority of his parents? Or was the serdab built during the lifetime of his parents, who decided to include the burial of their son within the tomb and who thus, in the second phase, enlarged the original plan of the tomb for a second serdab, which this time also included the statue of their son? It is beyond the parameters of this publication to provide a finite solution to this problem, but I am inclined to give preference to the second solution (see also p. 33).

2.3.2 Substructure

Tomb 2, stage 1 shafts (fig. 2.7):

(Definitions of the terms applied below: *burial niche* = the height of the cavity is greater than its length; *burial chamber* = the length of the chamber is greater than its height). For the summary of burial chamber types and their sizes see *Conclusions*, Table 1 (p. 51).

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.10 (E–W) × 0.95 m (N–S).

Depth: 7.90 m. Down to a depth of 1.80 m the walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks (0.29 × 0.15 × 0.09 m). For the remainder, only the northwest corner was lined, and this was to a depth of 5.10 m (perhaps this lining was made for reasons of structural stability). The walls were plastered with clay mortar mixed with straw.

Filling: 0–0.4 m *tafl*, 0.4–1.5 m yellow wind-blown sand, 1.5 – bottom there was dark sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: Niche in the west wall at the bottom of the shaft, 1.76 m high, 0.80 m long and 1.00 m deep. At the entrance into the niche there were remains of a wall. Its lower part came to a height of 0.60 m and it was made of unhewn *tafl*. The upper part reached a height of 1.16 m above the floor level and consisted of dry-laid mudbrick laid in courses

⁹⁹ Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, pl. 32, 10–12; Amélineau, *Abydos I*, p. 241, figs. 53–54; pls. 36–37.

¹⁰⁰ Emery, *Great Tombs II*, Tomb 3504, pl. 24, subsidiary grave 38 (the burial of the dog may be intrusive – see p. 34) and *idem*, *Great Tombs III*, Tomb 3507, pl. 91 b, dog burial at the tomb entrance.

¹⁰² *PM III*, p. 81. For more on the names of dogs in ancient Egypt see Janssen, *MDAIK 16* (1958): 176–182 and Fischer, *MMJ 12* (1978): 173–178.

¹⁰³ *Balat I*, pp. 64–65 (tombs T1 and T6).

¹⁰⁴ This attribution was made possible due to the results of anthropological analysis of the burials. In many similar cases, however, the utmost care must be taken because quite frequently the tomb owner was depicted in different stages of his life including his portraiture as a boy.

of headers and stretchers. In the niche, remains of a disturbed male (?) burial (adultus II) were found (Excav. No. 14/LA-5/93).

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 1.00 m.

Depth: 5.80 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 1.60 m with mudbricks (0.28 × 0.12 × 0.10 m) laid in courses of headers and stretchers.

Filling: 0–1.5 m yellow wind-blown sand, 1.5 – to the bottom there was dark sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: The burial chamber is in the west wall at the bottom of the shaft; it is 0.90 m high, 1.10 m deep (E–W) and 1.70 m long (N–S). The entrance to the chamber, 0.28 m long and 0.82 m wide, was blocked by a mudbrick wall of dry-laid mudbricks in courses of headers and stretchers.

The burial found *in situ* in a decayed wooden coffin was in a contracted position on the left side, with head to the north, hands folded before the face. There was no funerary equipment. Male burial (maturus I). This was the probable burial of Sheddu (Excav. No. 9/LA-5/93).

Shaft 3

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 1.00 m.

Depth: 4.80 m.

The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbrick (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.10 m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth of 1.40 m on all walls except for the west wall, where it went to a depth of 2.80 m. The mudbricks were plastered with dark grey plaster that contained a large percentage of straw.

Filling: 0–0.10 m yellow wind-blown sand, 0.10 m to floor level consisted of dark sand with *tafl* and Old Kingdom sherds.

Burial: The burial chamber was in the west wall at the bottom of the shaft, 0.90 m high, 0.80 m deep (E–W) and 1.40 m long (N–S). The entrance passage, 0.14 m long and 0.90 m wide was blocked by a mudbrick wall of dry-laid mudbricks in courses of headers and stretchers.

The burial was found *in situ* in a wooden coffin (1.20 × 0.50 m) in a contracted position on the left side, with head to the north. The burial had been partly destroyed by the collapse of the south upper corner of the wall at the entrance.

There was no funerary equipment. Female burial (Excav. No. 11/LA-5/93).

The distribution analysis of the burials in the shafts seems to correspond with the arrangement

of the statues of Sheddu and his family (son-father-wife, proceeding from the south). The anthropological examination showed that the oldest burials were in Shaft 2 and 3 (maturus I – II, man and a woman), whereas in Shaft 1 was a younger, male body (adultus II). Therefore it is possible to suggest that Sheddu was buried in Shaft 2, his wife in Shaft 3 and their son in Shaft 1. The elevated status of the burials in Shaft 2 and 3 indicate their sizes (1.39 and 1.12 sq. m. and only 0.80 for their supposed son), types of their burial chambers (4a1, but 6c1 for their son) and wooden coffins that were used for the two deceased bodies, not, however, for their proposed son.

Tomb 2, stage 2 shafts (figs. 2.8–2.9):

Shaft 4

Shaft opening: 0.90 × 0.85 m.

Depth: 4.50 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbrick (0.29 × 0.18 × 0.09 m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth of 1.30 m. The mudbricks were plastered with dark grey plaster with large inclusions of straw.

Filling: From the top to the bottom, the shaft was filled with yellow wind-blown sand.

Burial: The burial niche was in the west wall at the bottom of the shaft. The height of the entrance was 1.10 m. There were no traces of a blocking wall. In the niche, remains of a completely destroyed female (?) burial (adultus II) were found (Excav. No. 16/LA-5/93).

Shaft 5

Shaft opening: 0.90 × 0.85 m.

Depth: 3.36 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks (0.29 × 0.18 × 0.09 m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth of 1.50 m. The mudbricks are covered with dark grey plaster with a large inclusion of straw.

Filling: The ground level to the bottom of the shaft was filled with dark sand with an admixture of *tafl*. At a depth of 2.00 m a *bd3* form was found.

Burial: The burial niche is in the west wall at the bottom of the shaft. The height of the entrance is 0.66 m. At the entrance to the chamber, there is a dry-laid mudbrick wall in courses of headers and stretchers. In the niche was a female burial (matura I), body in a strongly contracted position, placed on her left side with head to the north. The burial had been affected by the robbers' hole from the bottom of Shaft 4 (15/LA-5/93).

Shaft 6

Shaft opening: 0.80 × 0.85 m.

Depth: 0.50 m.

Filling: 0–0.30 m mud (from the eroded surface of the tomb) which was mixed with *tafl*; 0.30 – 0.50 m contained wind-blown sand.

Burial: The shaft was bare of any burial, but was clearly intended for a burial which did not take place (in which case the shaft would have been hollowed out to a considerably deeper extent).

Shaft 7

Shaft opening: 0.80 × 0.75 m.

Depth: 3.15 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with *tafl* mudbricks (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.10 m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth of 1.22 m. The mudbricks were plastered with dark grey plaster with a large inclusion of straw.

Filling: 0 – bottom yellow wind-blown sand.

Burial: The burial chamber was situated in the west wall at the bottom of the shaft. The height of the entrance was 0.74 m. The floor of the chamber was sunken for 0.56 m against the bottom of the shaft. The height of the chamber was 1.30 m, the width (E–W) 0.66 m and the length (N–S) 1.50 m. In the chamber male (adultus II – maurus I) and female (?) burial (adultus II) were found. The bodies were placed in a tightly contracted position on the left side with the head to the north. In the northwest corner of the chamber was encountered a single beer jar – rare evidence for the existence of burial equipment in such a kind of grave. The state of preservation of the burials was heavily affected by the collapse of the *tafl* roof and mudbricks from the broken wall which had once protected the entrance into the burial chamber (Excav. No. 12/LA–5/93).

Shaft 8, opening: 0.78 × 0.90 m.

Depth: about 3 m, the burial niche situated in the west wall of the shaft has broken into Shaft 13 and the undisturbed burial has been removed via Shaft 13.

Burial: The body was lying in a contracted position on the left side, with the head to the north, looking east (Excav. No. 13/LA–5/93). The deceased had been wrapped in matting.

Male (?) maurus burial (40–60 years).

Shaft 9, opening: 0.80 × 0.75 m. Unexcavated.

Shaft 10, opening: 0.80 × 0.75 m. Unexcavated.

Shaft 11, opening: 0.85 × 0.80 m. Unexcavated.

Shaft 12

Shaft opening: 0.90 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 1.00 m (at the east wall) and 1.26 m (at the west wall). The walls of the shaft were lined with *tafl* mudbricks (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.09 m) in courses of headers and stretchers. The mudbricks were plastered with dark grey plaster with a large inclusion of straw.

Filling: 0–0.70 m *tafl*, 0.70 – bottom dark sand.

Burial: The burial was situated at the bottom of the shaft in its west part. It was a burial of a male body (adultus I) in a contracted position on his left side with head to the north (Excav. No. 8/LA–5/93). In the east part of the bottom of the shaft there was a low mudbrick bench (height 0.09 m, width 0.42 m) plastered with mud.

Shaft 13

Shaft opening: 0.85 × 0.80 m.

Depth: 3.16 m (to the bottom of the burial niche). The walls of the shaft were lined with *tafl* mudbrick (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.10 m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth of 1.40 m (east and west walls), 1.66 and 1.56 m (south and north walls, respectively). The mudbricks were plastered with dark grey plaster with a large inclusion of straw.

Filling: 0 m – the bottom yellow wind-blown sand.

Burial: The burial niche was at the bottom of the shaft in its southeast corner. The height of the niche was 1.52 m, the width (E–W) 0.96 m and the length (N–S) 1.00 m. On the floor of the niche there were found three beer jars. There were no traces of a burial.

Shaft 14

Shaft opening: 0.85 × 0.72 m.

Depth: 2.60 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with *tafl* mudbricks (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.10 m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth of 1.60 m (east and west walls), 1.66 and 1.16 m (south and north walls respectively). The mudbricks were plastered with dark grey plaster with large inclusions of straw.

Filling: 0 m – to bottom was filled with dark sand with inclusion of the *tafl*. At a depth of 1.20 m the shaft narrows from the north for 0.24 m to 0.48 m (N–S).

Burial: The burial niche was situated at the bottom of the shaft, in its southeast corner. The height of the niche reached 1.04 m, the width (E–W) 1.04 m and the length (N–S) 0.98 m. No traces of a burial.

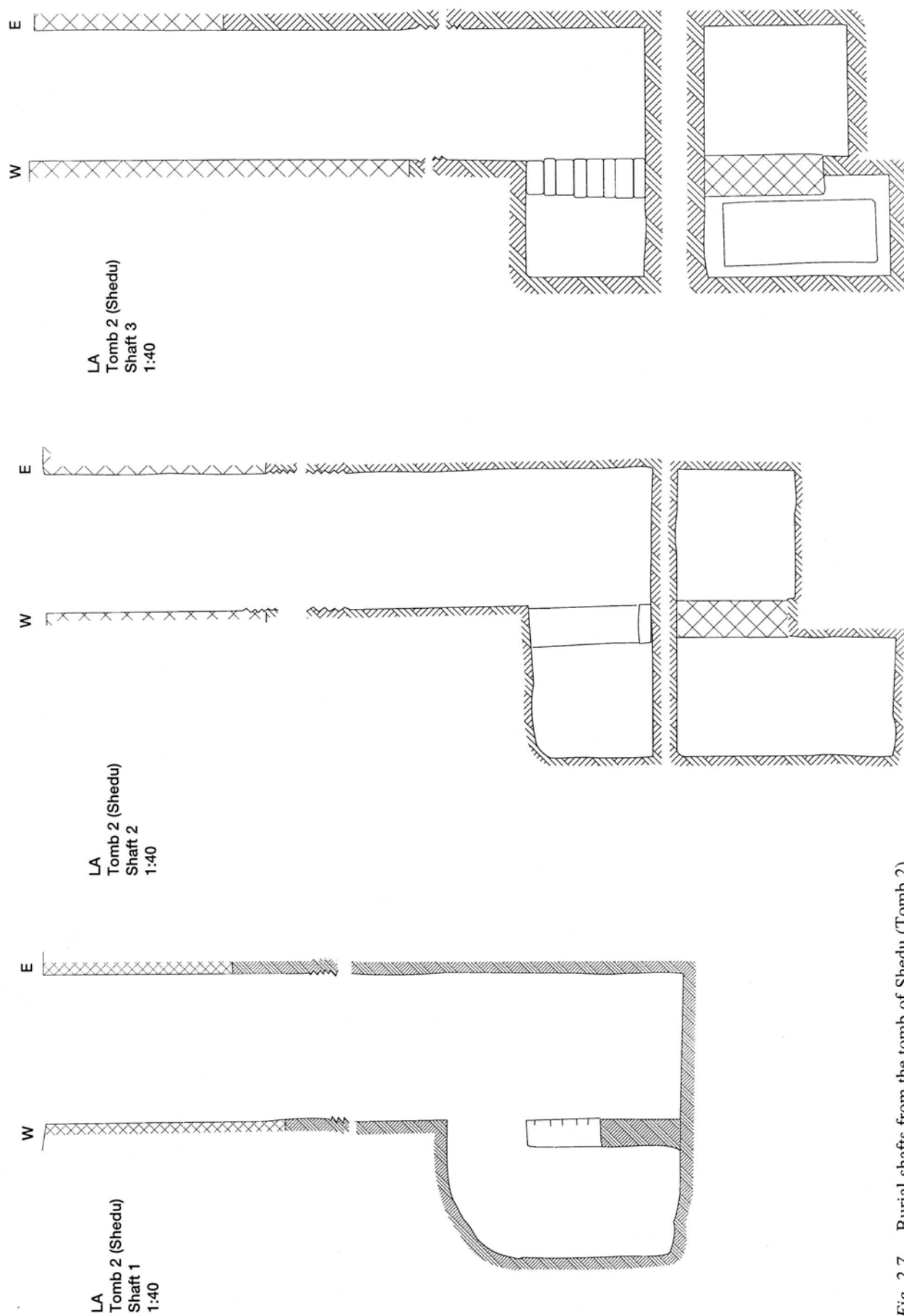


Fig. 2.7 – Burial shafts from the tomb of Sheduf (Tomb 2)

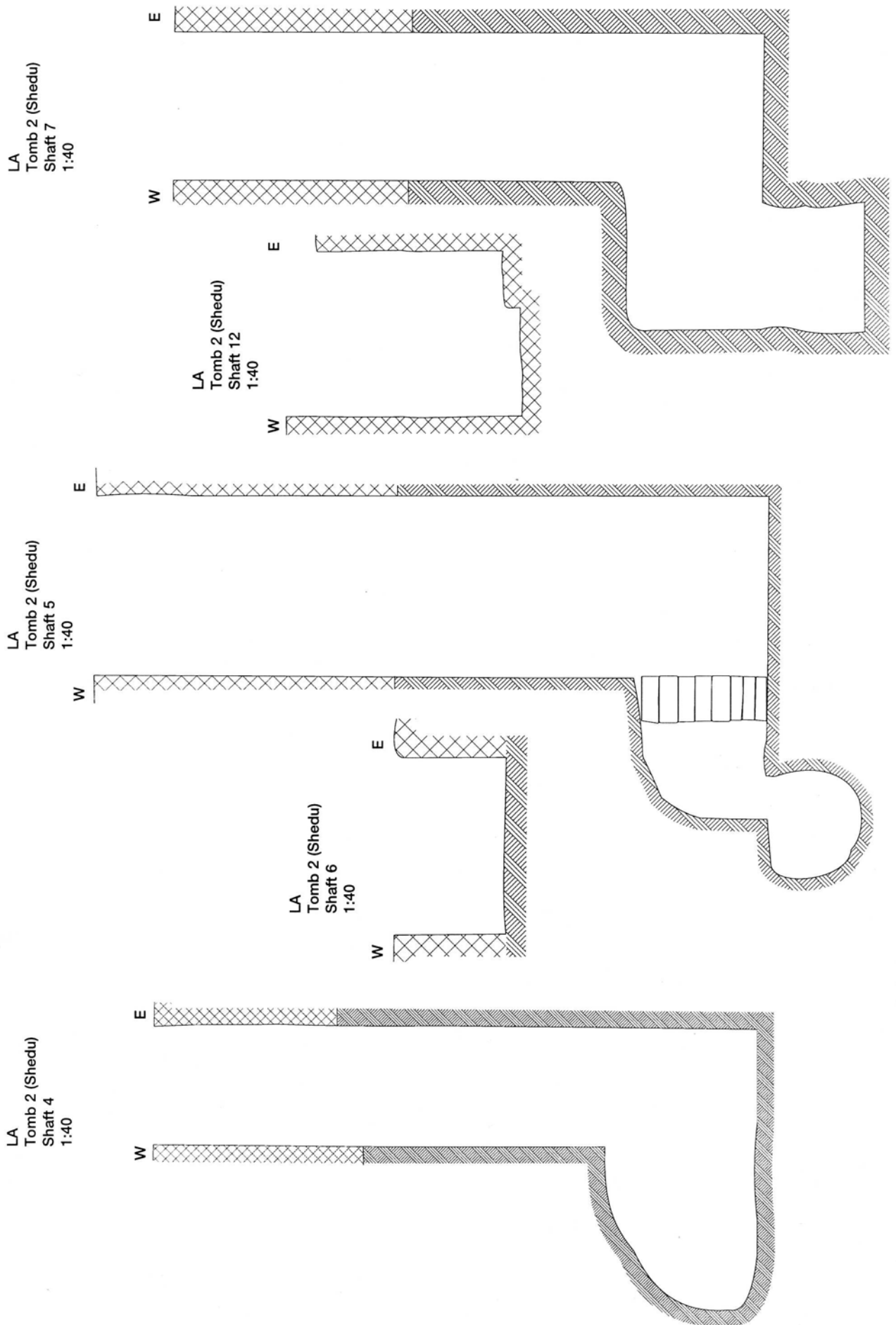


Fig. 2.8 – Burial shafts from the tomb of Sheddu (Tomb 2)

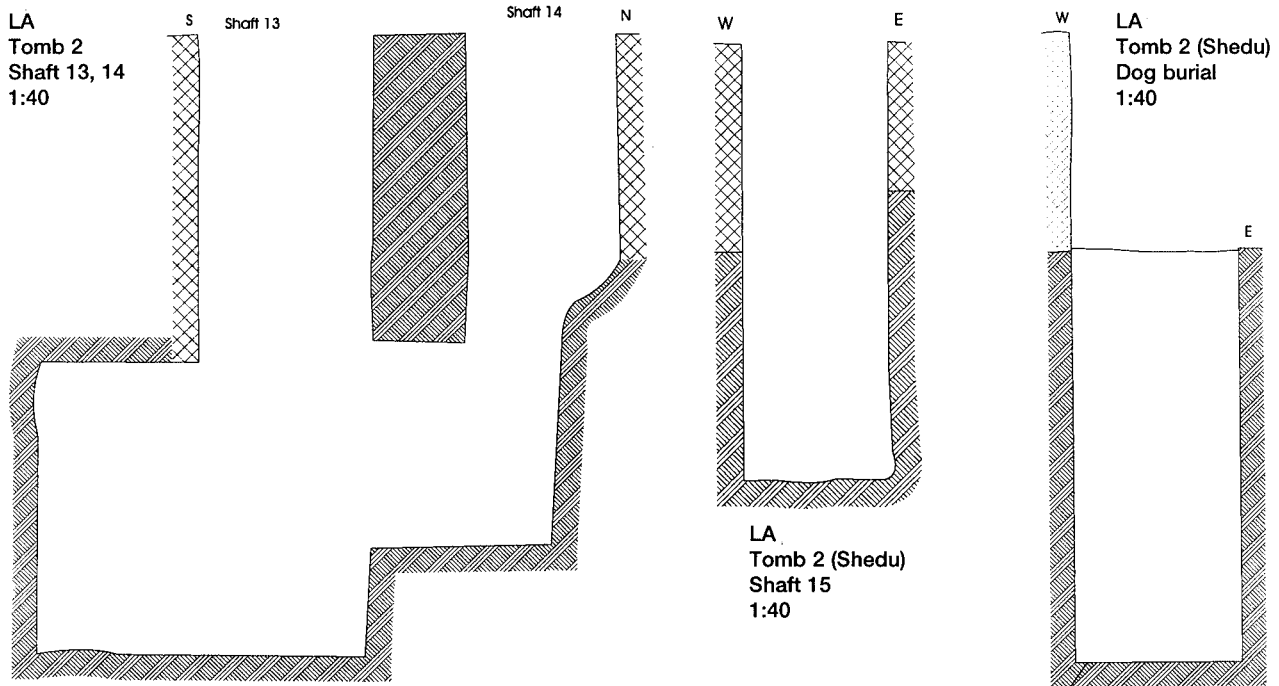


Fig. 2.9 – Burial shafts from the tomb of Shedu (Tomb 2)

Shaft 15

Shaft opening: 0.70 × 0.90 m.

Depth: 2.12 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks (0.29 × 0.14 × 0.09 m) to a depth of 1.00 m.

Filling: Yellow wind-blown sand. No traces of a burial.

2.3.3 Inscription on the libation basin

The only inscribed artifact from the tomb was the libation basin from the chapel of the tomb. The inscriptions on the basin are placed on its four outer rims.

inscription on the west rim:




(j)m(j)-r bnr (nt) Mn-jswt Nj-wsr-R^c Šdw




“Overseer of the sweets of the pyramid ‘Enduring are the places of Nyusera’, Shedü.”

The name of Shedü counts among the infrequently attested male names which, during the Old Kingdom, is limited to the Sixth Dynasty. Its meaning is “der (Wasser) Schlauch”¹⁰⁵ and is attested from the following tombs:

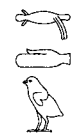
– the mastaba of Neferseshemseshet at Saqqara¹⁰⁶ from the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁰⁷ Here the name is writ-

ten as  without a determinative and Shedü bears titles *šḥd ḥtmw*, *ḥm-k3*;

– the second attestation of the name comes from Giza, tomb GSE 1915 belonging to an official Inty-Shedü. Here, Shedü’s name was written

 as  and , respectively;¹⁰⁸

– the third occurrence comes from the relief block in the Rosicrucian Museum RC 1737 in San Jose from the reign of Pepy II.¹⁰⁹ It is a block from the tomb of Sheduptah with the beautiful name Shedü written as:



– the fourth occurrence of the name is attested from Deshasheh¹¹⁰ as the beautiful name of Iteti, where the name includes the determinative (this tomb is from reign of Teti or later).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 406.

¹⁰⁷ *PM* III, p. 585.

¹⁰⁸ Hawass, in N. Grimal, ed., *Les Critères de datation*, p. 203, figs. 11–12; 205, figs. 17–18.

¹⁰⁹ Strudwick, *JEA* 71 (1985): 45, pl. 3.2.

¹¹⁰ Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 16; Kanawati, Mc Farlane, *Deshasha*, p. 39, pl. 55.


¹¹¹ *PM* IV, p. 122; according to Kanawati, Mc Farlane, *Deshasha*, dated to the reign of Teti.

¹⁰⁵ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 331.18.



Mn-jswt Nj-wsr-R^c “Enduring are the places of Nyusera”¹¹² refers to the pyramid complex of the king Nyusera where Shedu held his office.¹¹³

The title of the overseer of the sweets (not, however, overseer of dates¹¹⁴) is a very rare example attested during the Old Kingdom. The oldest attestation comes from the lost tomb of Pehernefer of the early Fourth Dynasty. In his tomb Peher-

nefer bears title  which Junker translated as “Leiter der Süßbäcker”.¹¹⁵ According to Helck, the title reads “Leiter der Dattelmagazine”.¹¹⁶ The new evidence makes it possible in this case to reject both translations. On the basin of Shedu, the noun *bnr*¹¹⁷ is determined with three signs which closely resemble sign M33 (grains of corn),¹¹⁸ whereas in the inscription on the north rim with sign N33 (repeated three times, see below) in the shape of three pellets. Both groups of signs undoubtedly refer to dates which were the main substance (used as a sweetener) in the production of various sorts of sweets. Different forms of signs denoting dates were probably due to the fact that there was actually no sign in Old Egyptian writing for dates. That the expression is to be understood as a title “overseer of sweets” makes possible a secondary meaning of the noun *bnr* attested already in the Old Kingdom. I. Wallert has clearly established that from the First Dynasty onwards the word *bnr* received a secondary meaning as “sweet, pleasant, kind”.¹¹⁹ This metaphorical meaning is probably due to the fact that dates were frequently used in preparation of wine, cakes and bread as a sweetening essence.¹²⁰ Another illustration of such a shift in the meaning of the word is found in the expression from the tomb of Werkhut at Giza, who is said to be*bnr hr snw.f*... “...kind/pleasant before his brothers and sisters....”.¹²¹

¹¹² See Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 73–77 (“6. On the Interpretation of Names of Pyramids”). For an alternative reading “Nyusera’s pyramid, most enduring of places” see Bennett, *JEA* 52 (1966): 175.

¹¹³ Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen*, pp. 96–98; Helck, *LÄ V* (1984), col. 5.

¹¹⁴ Thus *PM* III, p. 309.

¹¹⁵ Junker, *ZÄS* 74 (1967): 67.

¹¹⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 62.

¹¹⁷ With its first level semantic meaning “dates”, *Wb* I, 461.12–16.

¹¹⁸ Gardiner, *Grammar*³, p. 483.

¹¹⁹ Wallert, *Palmen in Ägypten*, pp. 47–48.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–32; *The Gift of Osiris* 2, pp. 722–730.

The translation preferred here is therefore that of “overseer of sweets”. The determinative A1 in the title of Pehernefer is then to be associated – in accordance with Helck – with the word *hrp*.¹²² The title *hrp* is probably the direct precursor of the later title *(j)m(j)-r* and in this sense the title of Pehernefer is identical with that of Shedu. Later on, the title of *(j)m(j)-r bnr* is attested only twice on a reused block discovered by the Lepsius expedition in the village Nazlet el-Batran near Giza,¹²³ and on the statue kept in the Oriental Institute Museum at Chicago (No. 14 054).¹²⁴ Both monuments are ascribed to a Tjenenti, who is in the first case labelled as a *(j)m(j)-r bnr* Tjenenti and in the second as a *bnr* Tjenenti. According to Silverman, it is possible to ascribe both monuments to the very same person.¹²⁵

It is surprising that the name of Shedu, occurring twice on the basin, lacks in both instances a determinative. The only reasonable explanation of this phenomenon I see in existence of the serdab with statues of Shedu and his wife, a short distance to the west of the basin of Shedu. Also the position of the basin in front of the central niche associated with Shedu, seems to support the idea that it was probably the link between the basin and the statue of Shedu in the serdab which was given preference here.

inscription on the south rim:



hp.f hr w3t nfrt hpp(t) jm3h(w) hr.s

¹²¹ *LD* II, pl. 43 c–d.

¹²² Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 62.

“May he travel upon the beautiful way upon which the well-provided travel.”


This is a classical example of “Bitte 12”.¹²⁶ As the main goal of wandering upon beautiful way(s), it is understood that the writer means “the west, the necropolis” (“das schöne Gefilde, das Speisenfeld”).¹²⁷ This sentence relates to the festive rituals after the death of the tomb owner: these preceded and accompanied the transportation of the deceased’s body into the tomb. From the tomb of Ty for instance, we have evidence that this sentence can relate also to the statues of the dead (living images of the dead). The scene in the tomb of Ty depicts transportation of statues into the tomb.¹²⁸



The verb *hpy* is written here in its normal form.¹²⁹ Only occasionally can the imperfective relative form (masc.) *hppw* occur here,¹³⁰ and *hpy* can be sometimes followed by an adverbial modifier, such as *nfr*.¹³¹ E. Graefe suggested on the evidence from the Coffin Texts (CT 997), that the verb should be understood not only in term of “travelling to the west”, but even as an metaphor for the expression “to die”.¹³²

Jm3h(w) occurs here in the full plural form.¹³³ It is worth mentioning the probable meaning of this expression.¹³⁴ J. S. F. Garnot¹³⁵ and A. Moret¹³⁶ supposed that the word *jm3h* “applies to a privileged state of the man who lives in the intimacy of the king or the gods, and denotes the person who belongs to the service of the king...”. According to Helck, the word “der Versorgte” means a person whose existence after death is materially assured,¹³⁷ i.e. the owner of the tomb, burial, chapel, false door etc. (for details see

Remark 4).

The only feasible explanation for the writing of the sign Aa8¹³⁸ after the sign *m33* is that the hier-

atic original for the sign  has been misunderstood and reproduced on the basin erroneously.¹³⁹

The same mistake it is possible to identify in the form of writing of  instead of  – the transposition is probably due to the similarity of the hieratic forms of *‘nh* and *hr*.¹⁴⁰ This is corroborated by the fact that the *‘nh* sign is followed by *r* which usually occurs as a phonetic complement of *hr* in *status pronominalis*. This explanation implies that there was an old hieratic model used as a source for the workmen in charge of the decoration of the basin and to suppose that such workmen were familiar (to a certain degree) both with hieroglyphs and Old Hieratic. The similar practice is well attested from the Pyramid Texts¹⁴¹ and offering formulas of the Old Kingdom,¹⁴² where various faulty writings occur as a result of sign transpositions in hieratic. It does not, however, necessarily imply the literacy of those workmen. More probably, it may be suggested that they were experienced enough to be able to convert hieratic models into hieroglyphs. But, it is unlikely that they were in most cases able to understand the proper meaning of the sentences. Otherwise it would be easy for them to avoid such grammatical mistakes as presented above.

¹²³ LD II, pl. 95a. In PM III, p. 309 read as “Overseer of dates” which does not seem to make much sense in Old Kingdom title-structuring.

¹²⁴ Silverman, JNES 32 (1973): 466-476.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 471.

¹²⁶ Barta, Opferformel, p. 17; 235.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

¹²⁸ Épron, Wild, Ti III, 54.

¹²⁹ It is only seldom the verbs of III.inf. occur with the augment *j-* such as *jhpf*. The verb in the sentence here has the form of the imperfective relative form (fem.), Edel, Altäg. Grammatik I, pp. 335-6, §669, aa.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 336, §669, aa.

¹³¹ For instance Mariette, Mastabas, p. 130, tomb C9.

¹³² Graefe, RdE 22 (1970): 203.

¹³³ Edel, Altäg. Grammatik I, p. 117, §272.

¹³⁴ For summary see Verner, Prahshespes I, p. 124.

¹³⁵ Garnot, in Mercer, Pyramid Texts IV, p. 95.

¹³⁶ Moret, RdT 19 (1897), passim.

¹³⁷ Helck, MDAIK 14 (1956): 67; this definition takes over Goedicke, Private Rechtsinschriften, pp. 37–38. This definition is probably based on the translation given in Wb I, 82 – “ehrwürdig, der Würdige u. ä: von Alten und Verstorbenen”. A similar definition is to be also found by Junker, Giza IX, p. 215.

¹³⁸ Gardiner, Grammar³, pp. 540–41, Signlist Aa8.

¹³⁹ See Möller, Paläographie I, p. 172.

¹⁴⁰ See Goedicke, Old Hieratic Paleography, 6 a-b and 36 a-b.

¹⁴¹ PT IV, §156, 125–127. Transposition of *hr* with *‘nh* is not included, however.

¹⁴² Lapp, Opferformel, p. 232 (§395).

inscription on the north rim:



jm3h(w) hr ntr ʕ3 j3w(t) nfr(t) wrt (j)m(j)-r bnr, Šdw
 “Well-provided before the Great God, (after having attained) a good old age, overseer of sweets, Shedū.”

This part is the final sentence that thematically closes the inscriptions on the basin. After the introductory phrase on the western rim, the sentence is followed with wishes for beneficial rituals associated with the burial and equipment of the tomb. It concludes with a statement concerning the present state of the deceased who, after death and burial rituals, reaches the Great God and the afterworld. For the sake of certainty the most important title *(j)m(j)-r bnr* and his name are repeated – it assures him of his individuality in the afterlife.

The epithet *jm3h* occurs here in a singular form because it relates (in contrast to the plural form in “Bitte 12”, see above) to the possessor of the tomb. An interesting feature is the semireversed sign F39, the spinal cord of which retained its leftward orientation (which couldn’t be reproduced here but is well discernible on pl. XVb).¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, p. 25; *idem*, *Egyptian studies* III, p. 195, fig. 12e (14. “Notes on Hieroglyphic Palaeography”).

The forms of writing for the expression *ntr ʕ3* are manifold, and there have existed several variants which are attested from the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁴ It seems that there was no governing rule which would give preference to one dominant graphic variant (*Remark 5*). The expression *ntr ʕ3* occurs in the formulas from the Fourth Dynasty onwards. It can denote both Osiris¹⁴⁵ and Ra.¹⁴⁶ According to Junker,¹⁴⁷ it denoted the omnipotent God, “Allgott” (see *Remark 2*).

The reason for applying different orthographic forms to this epithet remains somewhat puzzling. It is possible, however, to suppose that at least in several cases (as in the case of Khufukhaf [II]) it was the preferred form – due to the lack of sufficient space reserved for the inscription. In other instances the variant used might be a matter of personal choice of the workman concerned, or perhaps it was simply the preference of the tomb owner.

The expression *j3wt nfrt wrt* falls among the forms of “Bitte 5” which is in direct relation to “Bitte 4” (*krst.tj.fj m hrt-ntr m zmjt jmntt*).¹⁴⁸ Both these formulas related to the possessor of the tomb.¹⁴⁹

2.3.4 Conclusions

There are several indications pertinent for the dating of the tomb. The architecture of the tomb shows that the tomb was built as a typical “family tomb” clearly intended for burials of several generations. It is probably that this new tomb type appeared by the end of the Fifth Dynasty, perhaps as early as during the reign of Nyuserra.¹⁵⁰ Also the title of Shedū “overseer of the sweets of the pyramid ‘Enduring are the places of Nyuserra’” shows that Shedū held his office not prior to the death of the King Nyuserra.

The statues discovered in the chapel may be classified within the so-called “Second style” dominating the Sixth Dynasty sculpture and relief,¹⁵¹ in this case dated most probably at the very end of the Fifth Dynasty. This is also the most suitable dating for the whole tomb complex.

¹⁴⁴ Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 213, §366.

¹⁴⁵ Sethe, Gardiner, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁶ Kees, *Totenglauben*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁷ Junker, *Giza II*, p. 55ff.

¹⁴⁸ Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

¹⁵⁰ For the argument see Báta, in Jánosi, ed. *Architecture and meaning*, in press.

¹⁵¹ Russmann, *MDAIK* (1995): 269ff., Brovarski, in *Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists. Abstracts*, pp. 39–40.

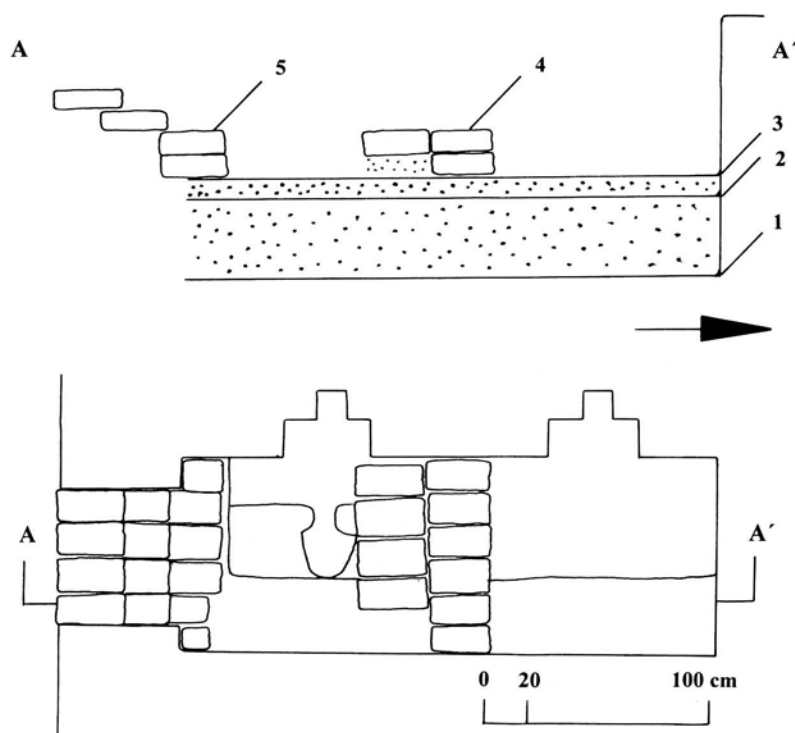


Fig. 2.10 – Section and ground plan of the chapel in Tomb 3 (1 – the original floor of the chapel, 2 – second floor on a layer of clean sand, 3 – third chapel floor on a layer of clean sand, 4 – partition mudbrick wall built on the third floor level and closing off the north part of the chapel, 5 – mudbrick steps leading into the chapel with the third floor)

2.4 Lake of Abusir Tomb 3

This tomb is situated immediately to the east of the tomb of Sheduf, abutting with its north face on Tomb 1. The superstructure consists – as was the case with Tomb 2 – of two units. In the eastern part is situated the north-south aligned chapel measuring 2.20×0.85 m. The west wall of the chapel still reaches a height of 0.90 m above the original floor level of the chapel. In the west wall there were two double-recessed niches representing false-doors which were devoid of any decoration. The niches as well as the walls of the chapel were painted white. At the north wall of the southern niche was encountered a biconical stand still *in situ* (Excav. No. 10/LA-5/93). An imprint of another biconical stand was found in front of the northern niche. The chapel was entered from the south over three mudbrick steps placed exactly within the entrance thickness leading into the tomb. These steps attest to the fact that during the Old Kingdom when the tomb was built, the desert floor was more or less at the same level as it is today.

The chapel underwent several modifications during its use (fig. 2.10). Originally, in the west part of the chapel, a long and low mudbrick bench for offerings was built. In front of the southern

(“male”) niche was a mudbrick altar in the shape of a *htp* sign whereas in front of the northern (“female”) niche was originally placed only a (biconical) offering stand (the imprint of which was still visible, see pl. XXIIb). The bench, the altar as well as the floor of the chapel were painted white. In the second stage the original floor was covered by a layer of yellow sand and, at a height of 0.40 m above the first floor, the second mudbrick floor (painted white) was laid. In the southern niche, a biconical offering stand was found (pl. XXII). After some time, this floor was again abandoned, covered with yellow sand and a mudbrick floor painted white was built some 0.10 m above the second one. In this third stage also the north part of the chapel was walled up by a mudbrick wall, remains of which were preserved in the form of the two lowermost courses, approximately in the middle of the chapel. Thus the northern niche was discarded and only the southern one remained in use. It is this third stage to which the three steps give access. The height of each step was 0.10 m and they were also painted white (pl. XXIIIa).

The west part of the tomb measured 3.05 (N-S) \times 2.50 m (E-W) and comprised one row of two shafts which were left unexcavated. The opening of Shaft 1 (southern one) measured 0.95 (E-W)

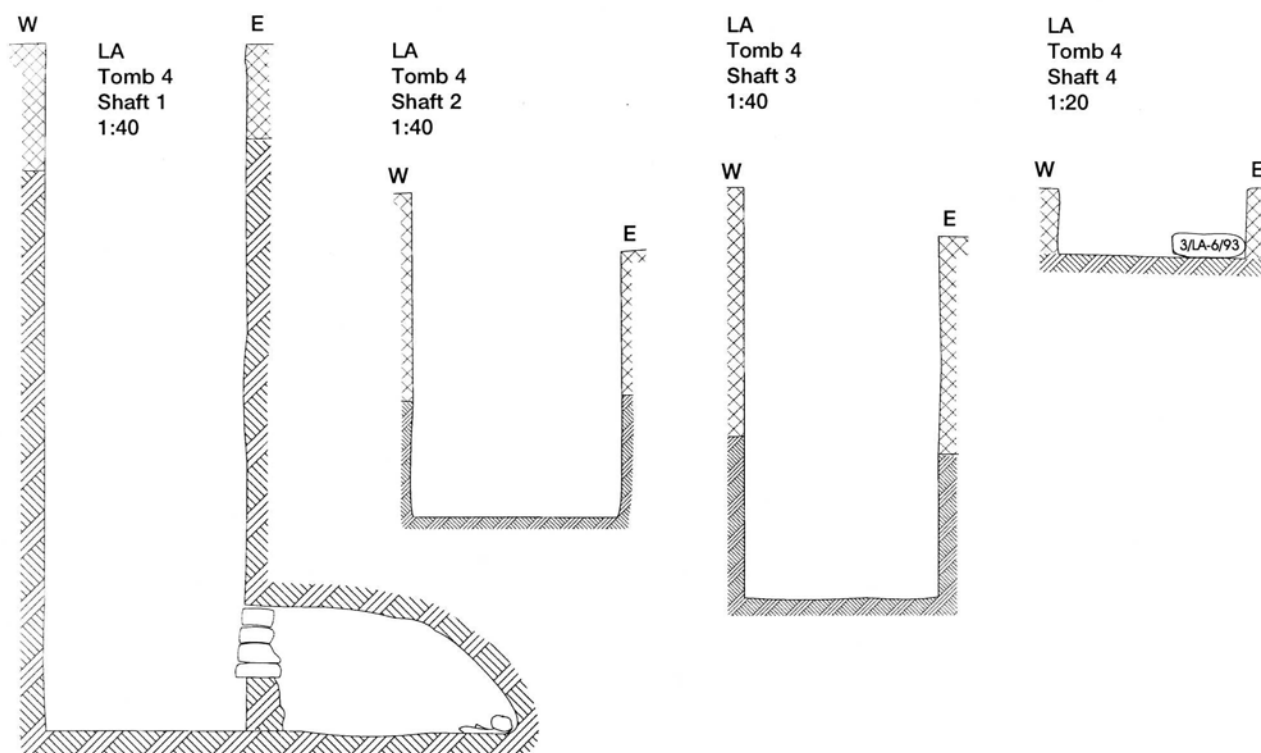


Fig. 2.11 – Burial shafts from Tomb 4

× 1.00 (N–S) and Shaft 2 (northern one) 0.95 × 0.95 m. They clearly correspond with the two niches in the chapel to the east.

This was probably a one generation family tomb built for a married couple. It may be dated to the late Fifth – early Sixth Dynasty.

2.5 Lake of Abusir Tomb 4

This tomb is lying several metres to the east of the northeastern corner of Tomb 1. The tomb has a rectangular plan (9.55 × 5.20 m) with the longer axis oriented in a north-south direction. The superstructure of the tomb is built of mudbricks measuring 0.30 × 0.18 × 0.12 m.

In its southeastern part a small rectangular chapel (2.95 × 1.10 m in the north-south and east-west direction, respectively) is built. The chapel is entered from its northeastern corner by a 0.75 m long and 0.60 m wide entrance from the east. In the west wall of the chapel, one double-recessed niche is embedded in the south and one single-recessed niche in its northern part. The walls as well as the niches of the chapel are plastered white.

The remaining part of the superstructure comprises two north-south aligned rows with eight shafts. The eastern row starts to the north of the chapel and has three shafts (shafts 1–3). The west-

ern row with 5 shafts (shafts 4–8) is situated to the west of the chapel (fig. 2.11–2.12).

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.10 (E–W) × 1.05 (N–S) m.

Depth: 3.80 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with *tafl* mudbricks (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.09 m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth of 0.70 and 0.50 m (west and east wall, respectively). Filling: 0 m – bottom was of *tafl*.

Burial: At the bottom of the shaft in its east wall is a burial chamber. At the entrance into the chamber a low plinth of unhewn *tafl* (to a height of 0.30 m) was left; the rest of the height of the entrance was sealed by the mudbrick wall (ca height of the entrance 0.70 m, the east-west width 1.50 m). The burial of a male body (maturus I–II) in a contracted position on the left side with head to the north was found in this chamber (Excav. No. 4/LA–6/93).

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.10 × 1.00 m.

Depth: 1.70 m and 1.40 m (at the west and east wall, respectively). The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks to a depth of 1.10 and 0.80 m (west and east walls, respectively). The walls were eroded to such a degree that it was

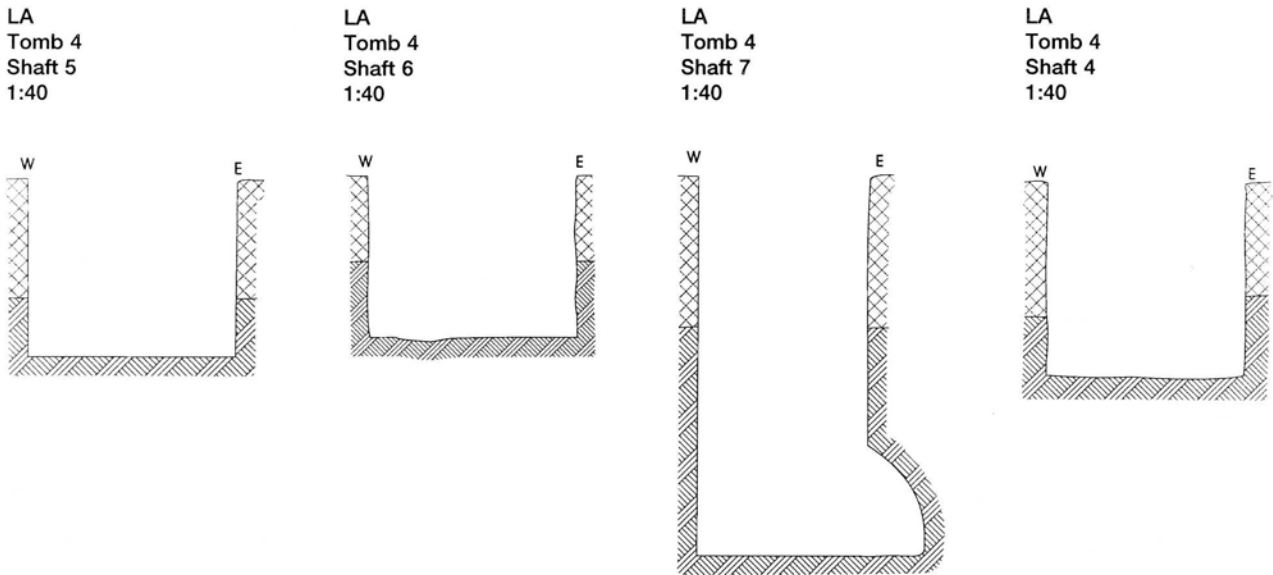


Fig. 2.12 – Burial shafts from Tomb 4

impossible to measure the dimensions of the mudbricks.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: None.

Shaft 3

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 2.14 m and 1.88 m (at the west and east wall, respectively). The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks to a depth of 1.30 and 1.14 m (west and east walls, respectively). These walls were eroded to such a degree that it was impossible to measure the dimensions of the mudbricks. On the east wall traces of the original white plaster had been left behind.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: None.

Shaft 4

Shaft opening: 1.05 × 1.00 m.

Depth: 0.35–0.38 m.

The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks to the bottom.

Filling: The west part of the shaft was filled with *tafl*, the east part with wind-blown sand.

Burial: In the eastern part there was a burial of a child (infans I). The body was found lying in a contracted position, on the left side with head to the north (Excav. No. 3/LA–6/93).

Shaft 5

Shaft opening: 1.06 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 0.90 m. The walls of the shaft were lined

with mudbricks to a depth of 0.60 m.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: None.

Shaft 6

Shaft opening: 1.10 × 1.05 m.

Depth: 0.84 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbrick to a depth of 0.44 m.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: None.

Shaft 7

Shaft opening: 0.90 × 1.05 m.

Depth: 2.00 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks (0.26 × 0.12 × 0.08 m) to a depth of 0.80 m in courses of headers and stretchers. In the east wall of the shaft, at its bottom, there was a burial niche. Its height was 0.58 m, its depth 0.30 m.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: None.

Shaft 8

Shaft opening: 1.08 × 1.15 m.

Depth: 1.04 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks to a depth of 0.72 and 0.60 m (west and east walls respectively).

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: None.

2.6 Lake of Abusir Tomb 5

Along with Tomb 6 (located further to the west), this tomb adjoins the north wall of Tomb 1. The

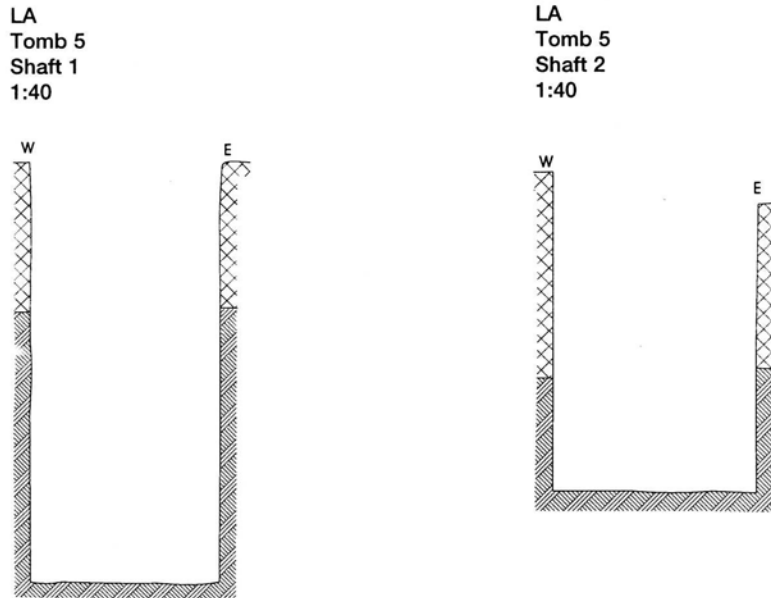


Fig. 2.13 – Burial shafts from Tomb 5

tomb is oriented in a northwest direction and measures 4.65 (N–S) × 3.50 (E–W) m. In its eastern part, a corridor chapel is built, protected from the east by a screening wall. The tomb is built of *tafl* bricks measuring 0.30 × 0.14–0.13 × 0.09 m. There are two single shallow niches in the west wall of the chapel. The walls of the chapel are painted white.

In the southern part of the chapel, a burial of a young woman (*juvenis*) was found sunken in the floor. This burial was placed in a shallow pit (1.20 × 0.90 m, 1.2 m deep). The body was lying on the left side, with its head towards the north, facing east. The arms were bent in front of the face and the head was placed on a mudbrick. In the western part of the tomb there are the openings of 2 shafts (fig. 2.13).

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 0.94 × 1.05 m.

Depth: 2.10 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with eroded mudbricks to a depth of 0.75 m.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: None.

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 1.05 m

Depth: 1.54 and 1.40 m (west and east walls, respectively). The walls of the shaft were lined with eroded mudbricks to a depth of 0.94 and 0.80 m (west and east wall, respectively).

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: None.

2.7 Lake of Abusir Tomb 6

This much eroded mudbrick tomb is oriented as the preceding one and measures 8.05 (N–S) × 3.30 (E–W) m. To the east is a corridor chapel 0.90 m wide entered from the north. The floor (of beaten *tafl*) and the walls of the chapel are plastered white. The west wall is decorated with four double-recessed niches. At the southern end of the wall there is a completely eroded limestone false door (0.60 m wide and 1.0 m high), bare of inscriptions but still *in situ*. At the entrance to the chapel was found another monolithic false door which was originally set in one of the four niches. This false door was also badly weathered, nonetheless, it bore traces of red-ink lines (fig. 2.16). From its dimensions (1.52 × 0.62 × 0.08 m), the false door corresponds with the dimensions of the niche to the east of Shaft 2 (Excav. No. 4/LA–5/93, fig. 2.16 and pl. XXIIIb). This type of false door is typical for the Fifth Dynasty but the evidence collected by Rusch and Wiebach shows that it also occurred during the period from Menkaura to Merenra.¹⁵² In the western part of the superstructure, two shafts are situated (fig. 2.14).

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.20 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 5.60 m. The walls of the shaft were lined

¹⁵² Rusch, ZÄS 58 (1923): 108 and 120, pl. A II2 and Wiebach, *Scheintür*, pl. 1 II2. In the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Mersyankh (III) a production of a similar false door is depicted and it also occurs in her chapel – see Simpson, Dunham, *Giza Mastabas* 1, pl. 5, fig. 5 and pl. 7a, b).

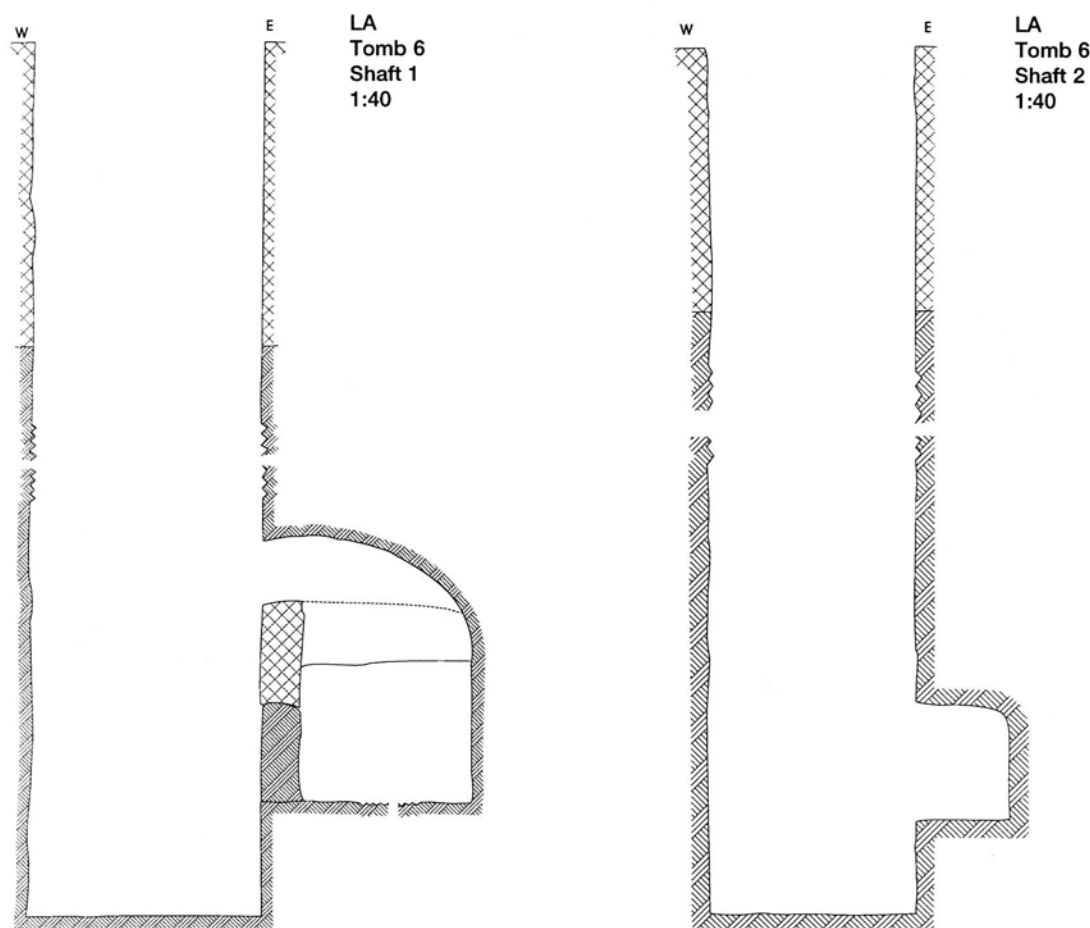


Fig. 2.14 – Burial shafts from Tomb 6

with mudbricks ($0.27 \times 0.13 \times 0.08$ m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth of 1.60 m.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: The burial chamber is situated along the eastern wall, its floor being 0.60 m above the floor of the shaft. The present height of the chamber is 1.38 m (originally, however, it is estimated to have been at a height of 1.06 m), the depth 1.90 m. At the entrance to the burial chamber was a wall. Its lower part (to a height of 0.52 m) was made of unhewn *tafl*, the remaining portion (to a height of 1.06 m) of mudbricks ($0.42 \times 0.22 \times 0.18$ m). The male (?) burial (adultus II) was entirely crushed by the collapsed *tafl* rock (Excav. No. 7/LA-5/93). The body was placed along the eastern wall of the chamber, in a north-south direction.

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.10×1.10 m.

Depth: 5.70 m. The walls of the shaft were lined to a depth of 1.40 m with *tafl* mudbricks

($0.24 \times 0.12 \times 0.10$ m) in courses of headers and stretchers.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: There was a burial niche in the east wall of the shaft. The floor of the niche is 0.50 m above the bottom of the shaft, the height of the niche being 0.62 and the depth 0.50 m.

No burial.

2.8 Subsidiary burials

It is also necessary to mention several subsidiary shaft burials found during clearing works on the eastern outer face of Tomb 1. Along this wall several shaft openings were built; these abut on this wall from the east. Proceeding from the north (fig. 2.15):

Shaft 1 (S1)

Shaft opening: 1.20×1.15 m.

Depth: 4.20 m. The walls of the shaft are lined to a depth of 0.90 m with eroded mudbricks.

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

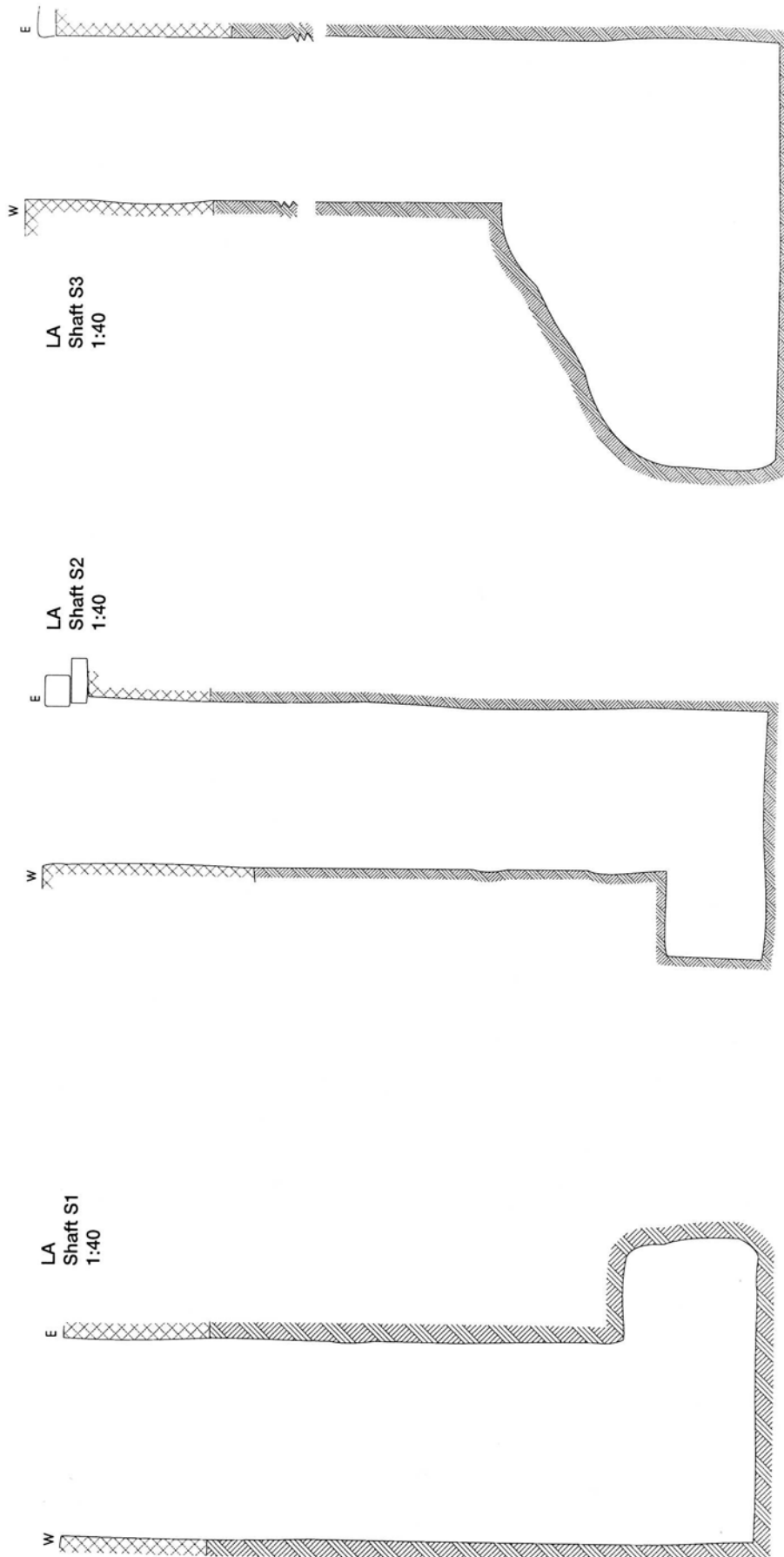


Fig. 2.15 – Subsidiary burials

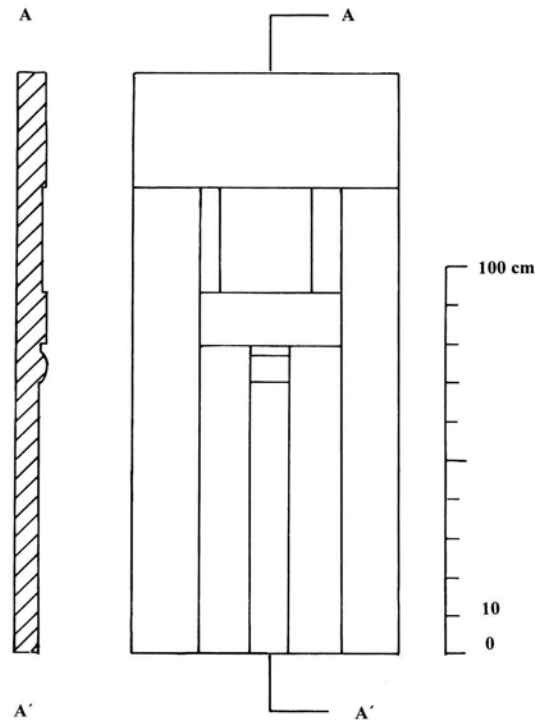


Fig. 2.16 – Excav. No. 4/LA-5/93

Burial: There is a burial niche in the east wall of the shaft, 0.80 m high and 0.60 m deep. At the bottom there was a male burial wrapped in reed matting (Excav. No. 2/LA-6/93).

Immediately to the south of the shaft probably another two shaft openings were situated. Due to time limits, however, they were not excavated. The construction of their superstructures offers a very interesting piece of evidence as far as the elements of the lesser funeral architecture are concerned. The flat surface above the shaft openings was plastered white (an indication of the fact that the shafts were intact) and in the east wall of Tomb 1 were sunken low, mudbrick altars, which were also plastered white. The whole cult installation, however poor it was, was built after the burials had been lowered down to the bottom of the shafts. After the burials had been put in place, the shafts were refilled and the surface was coated with white plaster so that its external appearance resembled a structure built of limestone. This example represents probably one of the poorest kinds of preserved funerary architecture from the period of the Old Kingdom.

Some 3 m to the south of this installation was another little chapel, in this case with 3 instead of 2 low altars. The place was protected by a low mudbrick parapet from the north and south. The floor and the altars were subsequently plastered white.

Further to the south, two more shafts were cleared; their superstructures differed remarkably from those described previously. They closely resemble those encountered at the “secondary” graves at North Saqqara and in Tarkhan. These low (partly circular in groundplan), about 0.20 – 0.40 m high superstructures, resembled small, circular mounds. They consisted of loose filling covered by a dry-laid course of mudbrick resting on it. Thus, these rounded structures in their final form resembled the shape of the primeval mound. Very similar kinds of superstructures have been found above the shaft of tomb S 2517/2518¹⁵³ and on the newly discovered cemetery of the workmen at Giza.¹⁵⁴

These structures at Abusir had a filling of loose limestone lumps and mudbricks which were coated with a mud layer plastered white. Beside these primitive structures above shaft openings another kind of superstructure is worth mentioning which was applied where small poor shafts were concerned. This used to have the shape of a small mudbrick mastaba (originally probably plastered white) with rounded roof and shallow niches cut in the east wall.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Junker, *Giza IX*, 153, p. fig. 69; pl. 13c.

¹⁵⁴ Hawass, in Bietak, *Haus und Palast*, p. 63, pl.2A; 65, pl. 3A, 3B.

¹⁵⁵ For instance Junker, *Giza V*, pl. 12b.

Shaft 2 (S2)

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 1.15 m.

Depth: 4.40 m. The walls of the shaft were lined to a depth of 1.30 and 1.00 m (west and east walls, respectively) with mudbricks (0.54 × 0.25 × 0.14 m).

Filling: Wind-blown sand.

Burial: There was a burial niche in the west wall of the shaft 0.60 m height and 0.50 m deep, but no burial.

Shaft 3 (S3)

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 1.00 m.

Depth: 7.60 m. The walls of the shaft were lined to a depth of 1.10 m with mudbricks.

Filling: Wind-blown sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: A burial niche lay within the west wall of the shaft 1.70 m high and 1.60 m deep. In the niche, a male burial (adultus II – maurus I) was discovered (Excav. No. 5/LA–6/93).

2.9 Conclusions

The above-analysed tombs lying on the ancient Lake of Abusir shore must be understood as a small but representative example of the Saqqara burial ground of which they are a part. During the surface survey, it was observed that in the close vicinity of these tombs there were traceable ground plans of further tombs comparable with Tomb 1 and situated further to the south and west of it (and probably also to the east and north). No doubt, the tested area once belonged to a widespread compound of graves for minor officials of the Old Kingdom capital covering more or less the whole Old Kingdom period. Several features connected with these tombs deserve a closer examination:

1. Classification of tomb chapels

There were examined 6 tombs dating to different periods of the Old Kingdom. The earliest tomb was Tomb 1 with many features pointing towards the early Fourth Dynasty. Later on, probably during the Fifth Dynasty the remaining tombs were built. The attempt for the classification of their superstructures has shown that it is not always possible to assign individual chapels to the system elaborated by Reisner for the cemeteries at Giza.¹⁵⁶ Several of the reasons were that at Saqqara and Abusir the cemeteries developed over a long period of time, their layout was not con-

ceived according to a preplanned design and that in many cases older and younger tombs formed an inseparable unit. Another factor was also the building material used for the construction of tombs – mudbricks instead of limestone. Thus the chapel of Tomb 1 seems to correspond with Reisner's Type 8, Tomb 2 with Type 5a (but with a pillar in the chapel), Tomb 3 with Type 8a, Tomb 4 with Type 4a, Tomb 5 with Type 9a and Tomb 6 with Type 8c. This classification must be taken, however, with some reservations. The confrontation of the system devised by Reisner with the evidence from the Lake of Abusir cemetery has shown that it cannot be applied without reservations.

2. Building of the shafts

All the shafts were cut in the *tafl* bedrock having either burial niches or burial chambers at the base – in most cases they were embedded in the west wall. Different positioning of the chamber/niche resulted from the specific spatial conditions which were given, for instance, by the location of the neighboring chambers/niches.

The upper parts of the shafts were cased with mudbrick walls intended to strengthen the walls of the shafts and improve their stability. The shafts were lined to a depth of 1.40–1.80 m. There is no doubt that, originally, the shafts reached up to the top of the tomb and that their walls were entirely cased in the very same way. The mudbrick lining had not only to ensure better stability of the walls but, above all, in their superstructures, to protect the shafts from the flow of loose material which was filling the space delineated by the shell masonry of the tombs. The mudbrick walls of the shafts were subsequently coated over with a mixture of mud and straw. In several instances, some sections of the shafts (the walls and corners) were strengthened by a mudbrick casing to a considerable depth. This was done to ensure stability of the structure.

Examples like secondary shafts within the northwestern corner of Tomb 1 seem to indicate that shafts were hollowed out well ahead of the day of the funeral; the burial could then take place in two following ways:

a) The shafts were only “preliminarily” dug out to a depth of several decimetres. The final digging took place immediately before the actual burial and the depth of the shaft and the kind of the burial niche/chamber could be modified according to the respective social status of the deceased person

¹⁵⁶ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 184ff.

(for instance Tomb 1, shafts 2–6; Tomb 2, Shaft 6; Tomb 4, shafts 2, 3, 5–6; Tomb 5, shafts 1–2).

b) The shafts were finished according to their definite plan – including the burial niches/chambers in one stage – and there was no need to modify them before the burial. These shafts are usually deeper than 1–2 m, in most instances about 3 m deep and in one case (Tomb 6, Shaft 2), almost 6 m deep. That they were never used for burials is attested by the absence of protecting mudbrick walls at the bottom of these shafts, for these would seal the entrance into the burial niches/chambers (Tomb 2, shafts 14–15, about 2.20 m deep but without niche; Tomb 4, shafts 2–3, 7; Tomb 5?; Tomb 6, Shaft 2). Traces of these walls were otherwise encountered in every positive case of a burial.

3. Filling of the shafts

Generally, it is possible to discern two different kinds of filling within the shafts:

- a filling of yellow wind-blown sand indicating the activity of tomb robbers;
- a filling of dark sand mixed with *tafl* (in several cases mixed with Old Kingdom sherds). This is the original filling;
- in several cases it is possible in the robbed shafts to encounter the original filling which indicates that after robbery the shaft was again filled, partly with the original filling. It probably resulted from the robbers' strategy employed in emptying the shafts. When one shaft was robbed, it was used as a receptacle for the spoil from the shaft being currently worked.

4. Burial as an indicator of a social status (Table 1)

There were altogether 16 burials discovered within the cemetery. Burial installations were divided into two groups, i.e. niches and chambers. Niches are defined as rooms in which their height exceeds their width and/or length. In all cases, the niches can be classified as Reisner's Type 6c(1) – "recess chamber with parallel sides."¹⁵⁷ Their size varied between 0.45–2.28 sq. m and there are altogether 8 burial shafts of this type in the cemetery.

In the case of the burial chambers, these are more elaborate and their width and/or length exceeds their height. There were attested several types of burial chambers: Reisner's Type 4 (1 burial – LA Tomb 1, main burial, size 3.25 sq. m.), 4a(1) – (2 burials, size 1.12–1.39 sq. m.), 6a(3) –

(1 burial, size 0.99 sq. m.) and 7c (3 burials, size 1.05–1.08 sq. m.).

Despite the fact that there was virtually no burial equipment found in the burial niches/chambers at all (not taking into consideration fragments of several pottery vessels), there are several unambiguous indicators of the status of the deceased persons:

a) The depth of the shaft according to the position within the family and its position within the tomb. Thus in Tomb 2, only the first 3 shafts in the easternmost row were considerably deep. The southernmost shaft belonged probably to the son of the family. It was nearly 8 m deep and in the niche was concealed the burial of a man (*adultus* II). The central position within this row belonged probably to Shedun, whose shaft was almost 6 m deep. In his burial chamber was encountered the burial of an elder man (*maturus* I) placed in a wooden coffin. The northernmost shaft belonged to his wife, the shaft being about 5 m deep with a burial of a woman (*maturus* I–II) placed in the wooden coffin, too.

The burials in the second row differed from these burials in that they were provided only with simple niches at the bottom of the shafts with no more than two female burials. The exception to the rule was Shaft 7 with the double burial of a man and a woman in the burial chamber, probably a married couple. Shafts in this row were also shallower than those in the first row. The shafts in the fourth row were also not deeper than 3 m. In two of them (13 and 14), niches were encountered at the bottom of the shafts. The niches were, however, devoid of any trace of burials. It seems very probable that these two niches were prepared for burials well in advance but actually, were never used. This suggestion is also supported by the fact that there were no indications of sealing walls (which otherwise are attested in every positive case of burial, with the exception of burials placed at the bottoms of the shafts – Tomb 2, Shaft 12; Tomb 4, Shaft 4; Tomb 6, Shaft 1).

Beside the individual burials of pairs in the neighboring shafts, there is one more type of family burial attested from the Giza Western Cemetery (Middle Field)¹⁵⁸. There, in the shafts carrying designations S 4024,¹⁵⁹ S 4113,¹⁶⁰ S 4171,¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Another possible example may come from Teti pyramid cemetery in Saqqara – Firth, Gunn, *TPC* I, p. 30, fig. 30.

¹⁵⁹ Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 171, fig. 77.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 221, fig. 101.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 223–225; 234, fig. 102.

¹⁵⁷ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, p. 96 and p. 98, fig. 48.

and S 4280¹⁶² were shafts constructed with two burial pits at different levels. According to Junker,¹⁶³ these four shafts represent family burials of a man with his wife. Nevertheless, this praxis (together with double burials in one burial pit) may be taken as quite exceptional evidence.

b) Presence of the burial niche/chamber. Tomb 1, the principal burial, possessed a large rectangular chamber entered from the south (Type 4) and covering an area of 3.25 sq. m. which was by far the largest chamber within the cemetery. Undoubtedly, this chamber was one of the features connected with the elevated status of the owner of Tomb 1. From the previous example from Tomb 2, stage 1, it is clear that only the father and mother possessed a burial chamber (Type 4a[1]). To the son belonged a simple burial niche. All three considerably deep shafts were deeper than the remaining number of the shafts. In the remaining tombs burial niches were the norm (Types 6 and 7). The exceptions are: Tomb 2, Shaft 7 with a double burial and Tomb 4, Shaft 1 with the burial of the tomb owner. In the case of Tomb 4 in particular, there was only burial of a man in Shaft 1 and of a child in Shaft 7 which were found. The remaining shafts were never used for burials. The same practice is attested from Tomb 5 where not a single burial was encountered. The wooden coffins were again reserved only for the father Shedub and his wife. Other tombs under analysis were substantially poorer.

Last but not least, the shafts and their construction provide us with very important details concerning the moment of their building. If we take into account the suggested two-stepped construction of the burial, it is necessary to suppose that the principal characteristics of the tomb were built well ahead of the burial. It was probably due to the very low social status of its owners which did not allow an appointment into an office which would guarantee any better kind of tomb (as might happen with higher officials.) Strudwick demonstrated another tendency relating to higher officials. These officials delayed their tomb construction until they reached what was thought to be the peak of their career.¹⁶⁴

Finally, it may be stressed that the distribution of burials under discussion support the generally

shared and accepted idea that the overwhelming part of the ancient Egyptian population was monogamous.¹⁶⁵

5. Dating of the tomb complexes

The tombs described in this chapter create, beyond any doubt, two separate groups. These two groups show apparently different features as far as the architectural design and the artifacts encountered during their examination are concerned.

Undoubtedly, the oldest group is represented by a single monument, Tomb 1. It shows several typical traits which are diagnostic for the older building and cultural tradition. It is its superstructure construction with the shell masonry filled with loose material, corridor and the chapel which indicates an early Fourth Dynasty dating. No pottery showing unequivocal links to Tomb 1 was encountered. It may therefore be supposed that the tomb dates to the horizon of the early Fourth Dynasty when several other tombs were built in the Saqqara-Abusir area (see the tomb of Ity, Chapter I).

The second group is represented by Tomb 2 – 6. The only *ante quem non* dated tomb is Tomb 2, belonging to the official Shedub, who had been employed at the temple of Nyusera at Abusir. His tomb can be dated – mainly according to the statues – approximately to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, most probably into the reign of Unas. Against a later date of the tomb there is the pottery corpus. The pottery which has been found during the clearing works in this tomb shows distinct features of the late Fifth Dynasty (beer jars and *bdj* moulds). The tomb of Shedub was preceded, however, by Tomb 3. This results from the fact that Shedub incorporated the western wall of Tomb 3 into his chapel where it forms the eastern wall. The same holds true for Tomb 5 that preceded Tomb 6. Tomb 4 stands relatively independently so that its relationship to the remaining tombs is ambiguous. It must be later, however, than Tomb 1. Due to the fact that all tombs clustered around Tomb 1 may be classified as “family tombs”,¹⁶⁶ it seems probable that they can be dated to the second half of the Fifth or to the early Sixth Dynasties.

These tombs were devoid of any datable artifacts. The only exception was the discovery of

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 227; 226, fig. 103. In this case the lower burial pit was provided with a wooden coffin.

¹⁶³ Junker, *Giza IX*, pp. 10–12; 11, Fig. 5.

¹⁶⁴ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 7–8.

¹⁶⁵ Simpson, *JEA* 60, (1974): 100; Allam, *LÄ I*, (1975), col. 1167; Kanawati, *SAK* 4 (1976): 159–160; Kanawati, *SAK* 5 (1977), *passim*; Wildung, Schoske, *Nofret*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁶ Bárta, *Ä&L* 10 (2000): 62.

The Lake of Abusir tombs

Tomb/Description	A	B	C	D	E	F
Tomb 1 - main burial	?	M	8.50	4	3.25	Wc Wc
Tomb 2 - Shaft 1	?	M	7.90	6c(1)	0.80	
Tomb 2 - Shaft 2	1	M	5.80	4a(1)	1.39	
Tomb 2 - Shaft 3	1	F	4.80	4a(1)	1.12	
Tomb 2 - Shaft 4	?	F?	4.50	6c(1)	1.08	
Tomb 2 - Shaft 5	1	F	3.36	6c(1)	0.45	
Tomb 2 - Shaft 7	1	M+F?	3.15	6a(3)	0.99	
Tomb 2 - Shaft 12	1	M	1-1.26	7c	1.08	
Tomb 2 - Shaft 13	1	M	±3.00	6c(1)	?	
Tomb 4 - Shaft 1	1	M	3.80	6c(1)	1.36	
Tomb 4 - Shaft 4	1	CH	0.35	7c	1.05	
Tomb 5 - chapel	1	F	1.20	7c	1.08	
Tomb 6 - Shaft 1	1?	M	5.60	6c(1)	2.28	
S1	1?	?	4.20	6c(1)	0.72	
S3	?	M	7.60	6c(1)	1.60	

Table I This table summarizes main characteristics of the burials in the Lake of Abusir tombs.

(A - attitude, B - sex, C - depth of the shaft in m, D - type of the burial chamber, E - size of the burial chamber in sq. m, F - remark, 1 - N-S oriented, contracted position on the left side facing east, M - male burial, F - female burial, CH - child burial, Wc - wooden coffin)

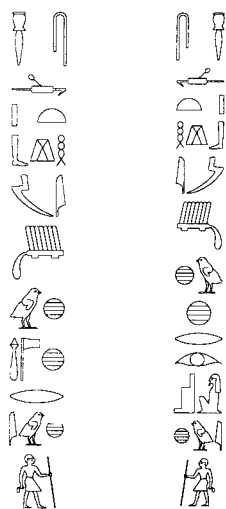
a false door in the entrance into the chapel of Tomb 6 (Excav. No. 4/LA-5/93) which may come from the late Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties. It can only be supposed that these tombs, along with the tomb of Sheddu, would have been built tentatively during the later Fifth – early Sixth Dynasty and that perhaps some of the persons buried here had been employed with Sheddu at the temples of the kings at Abusir.

Remark 2

It seems quite logical to suppose that the Ancient Egyptians in their inscriptions and offering formulas pertaining to life after physical death would at first refer to the most important god of the Afterworld. More importantly, from the tomb of Khentika comes evidence attesting to the fact that notions of the “Great God” and the “Lord of the West” unambiguously referred to Osiris.¹⁶⁷

Recently, two new pieces of evidence were published which further serve as support for the argument that under the two designations we have reference to the god Osiris.¹⁶⁸ The first piece of evidence comes from Saqqara, from the reign of Djedkara-Izezi.¹⁶⁹ In this case (two architraves),¹⁷⁰ the name of Osiris is preceded by the designation *ntr*. The single term *ntr* had been sometimes applied to funerary formula, as H. G. Fischer has already pointed out,¹⁷¹ instead of *ntr* ʿ3.

The second case is represented by two vertical columns of inscription on the false door of Khuy at Saqqara. The columns comprise exactly the same inscription with exception of the denotation *ntr* ʿ3 in the left column whilst the right column is replaced by the name of Osiris.¹⁷² This piece of evidence reads as follows:



¹⁶⁷ James, *Khentika*, p. 36, [7,2] and [7,17]; pls. 5–6.

¹⁶⁸ Barta arrives at the same conclusion, *Selbstzeugnis eines Künstlers*, p. 53.

¹⁶⁹ Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992): 72–73.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72, figs. 1–2.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74, note 6.

¹⁷² *Saqqâra Tombs* II, pl. 23 and to a certain degree pl.21 from the same tomb as well.

Remark 3

As a matter of fact, the adoption of pillars, either wooden or stone ones, is only rarely attested in Old Kingdom architecture.¹⁷³ To my knowledge, the first attestation of pillars¹⁷⁴ comes from tomb S 3035 from the reign of Den at Saqqara and from virtually the same period from the “royal” graves at Abydos.¹⁷⁵ In both instances, the well-dressed limestone pillars were placed in the main burial chamber of the tomb and had to support the construction of the roof.¹⁷⁶

The first attestation of stone pillars in monumental architecture dates to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, to the reign of Sneferu, from Dahshur.¹⁷⁷ The stone pillars were introduced in non-royal funeral architecture virtually simultaneously; they occurred mainly in the large tombs of higher officials. From the early Fourth Dynasty, from the reign of Khufu, pillars are attested for instance in the portico giving access into the tomb of Kawab.¹⁷⁸ Later on, during the Fifth Dynasty, their use extended into the large pillared courts and halls/chapels – such as the pillared court in the tomb of Ptahshepses at Abusir, or the pillared hall in the tomb of Senedjemib Inty,¹⁷⁹ and the pillared chapel in G 4513 at Giza,¹⁸⁰ to name at least several typical examples. During the Sixth Dynasty elaborate pillared halls with 3 × 3¹⁸¹ and 4 × 4¹⁸² pillars were built. From the Sixth Dynasty, in the tomb of Mereruka at Giza, pillars capped on the top with an abacus are attested; the praxis is otherwise unknown.¹⁸³

The limited use of pillars in Egyptian funerary architecture is probably due to the fact that the Egyptians preferred using mudbrick vaults when

¹⁷³ For the basic literature on pillars see Clarke, Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, p. 136 – here the pillars are classified as columns and are called “square sectioned pillars”; Arnold, *LÄ* IV (1982), cols. 1008–1009.

¹⁷⁴ In fact, there is evidence indicating the application of pillars in non-royal architecture already during the Late Predynastic period, see Arnold, *LÄ* IV (1982), col. 1009, endnote 2 – excavation of M. A. Hoffman at Hierakonpolis.

¹⁷⁵ Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pls. 60 and 67.

¹⁷⁶ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 64–65; 65, fig. 46; 185.

¹⁷⁷ Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu* II, 1: 2, fig. 1; 3–4.

¹⁷⁸ *PM* III, p. 187; G 7110–7120. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 3, pp. 1–2; pl. IIIa; figs. 2–5.

¹⁷⁹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, p. 265, fig. 162.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 287, fig. 185.

¹⁸¹ Hassan, *Nebkauhor*, p. 6, fig. 1, groundplan 9.8 x 9.4 m.

¹⁸² Hassan, *Hemetre*, tomb of Niankhba, p. 42, fig. 25, groundplan 12 x 12 m.

¹⁸³ Junker, *Giza* IX, pp. 70–72; 69, fig. 28. The only parallel is to be found in the tomb of Neferbauphtah (tomb L 15) – *LD Text* I, p. 31.

a smaller area had to be covered.¹⁸⁴ Only when large tombs with intrinsic superstructures started to be built, did the necessity of roofing a large space become a problem.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, in several particular cases the pillar was favoured, despite the fact that a smaller area was concerned. For instance, when there was a need to roof over a square room which by its plan clearly disfavoured the application of a vault.¹⁸⁶ Naturally, the application of a vault in the cases when larger areas had to be roofed over would be dangerous, so that the room in question was divided by one or two rows of pillars which would support the flat roof. There was one more reason that favoured the use of vaults over flat roofs. It was the need to drain off water from the roof during Egypt's infrequent rainy periods. In this case the vaults functioned undoubtedly much better in comparison with flat roofed (although inclined) tombs.


Remark 4


There are many indications that the word *jm3hw* refers to the well-providing of the deceased. Thus the widow claims that she provided her husband with a tomb so that he is *jm3h*.¹⁸⁷ There are other indications that not only every individual tomb but even every shaft within the tomb was built for a certain individual.¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, Helck claims that during the course of time the meaning of the term shifted from that of the purely material level into the spiritual sphere.¹⁸⁹ However, there seems to be no reason whatsoever to make a sharp difference between the "material" and "spiritual" level at all.¹⁹⁰ Janssen-Winkeln arrived at the virtually same conclusion stating that: "...in ihrer engeren Verwendung, als eine Art 'Fachterminus' der ökonomischen und sozialen Regelungen des Totenkults bezeichnen sie das 'Eingebundensein' in eine Kult- und Versorgungsgemeinschaft, in ihrer weiteren das Eingebundensein in götter-



weltliche Wirkungskreise bzw. die enge Verbundenheit mit nahestehenden sozialen Gruppen."¹⁹¹ The frequent combination of "Bitte 4, 5" (material level) and "12" (rather spiritual level) during the Old Kingdom seems to corroborate this observation.


Remark 5

There are altogether five graphic variants attested for the writing of the epithet *ntr* ʕ:

a)  See for instance the false door of Qar in Giza,¹⁹² architrave of Idu in Giza,¹⁹³ the tomb of Debeheni in Giza¹⁹⁴ (with the determinative of the god in the form of a hawk on a perch), tomb C 9 at Saqqara,¹⁹⁵ or the tomb of Ihy in Giza.¹⁹⁶

b)  – architrave of Idu¹⁹⁷, tombs C 25¹⁹⁸ and D10 at Saqqara,¹⁹⁹ tomb of Kawab – west wall of the sarcophagus,²⁰⁰ tomb of Khufukhaf (II)²⁰¹ and Werkhu²⁰² at Giza, tomb of Ty²⁰³ and Pehenuika²⁰⁴ at Saqqara. The architrave of Idu is interesting in the respect that on it are attested both a) and b) forms of writing of the Great God.

c)  – tomb of Niankhnum and Khnum-hotep²⁰⁵ at Saqqara, tomb of Hemetra²⁰⁶ at Giza (written as , southern chapel of Khufukhaf (II)

at Giza²⁰⁷ (transposition:  probably for orthographic reasons).

Among less frequently used writings of this epithet count the two following variants:

¹⁹¹ K. Janssen-Winkeln, *BSEG* 20 (1996): 36.

¹⁹² Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 2, fig. 32.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, fig. 33.

¹⁹⁴ *LD* II, 36.

¹⁹⁵ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 130.

¹⁹⁶ *LD* II, 88a, Grab 41.

¹⁹⁷ Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 2, fig. 33.

¹⁹⁸ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 160.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²⁰⁰ Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 3, p. 6; pl. 8.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23; pl. 42.

²⁰² *LD* II, 43b – Grab 95.

²⁰³ Épron, Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 54.

²⁰⁴ *LD* II, pl. 48 – Grab 15.

²⁰⁵ Altenmüller, Moussa *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 4 and 20.

²⁰⁶ Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, p. 48, fig. 36.

²⁰⁷ Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 3, p. 10; pls. 24–25.

²⁰⁸ *LD* II, pl. 89a – Grab 50.

¹⁸⁴ For the vaults see now Nagar, *Les voûtes*, *passim*.

¹⁸⁵ See, for instance, G 2370 with eight pillars in two rows in its pillared hall (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, p. 265, fig. 162) or G 2004 with three pillars in the chapel (*ibid.*, p. 287, fig. 184).


¹⁸⁶ G 7244–7246 – *ibid.*, p. 285, fig. 181.


¹⁸⁷ *Urk.* I, 227, 15–16.

¹⁸⁸ *Urk.* I, 115, 17 and 116, 1–4.

¹⁸⁹ Helck, *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 68–69.

¹⁹⁰ For argumentation see, for instance, Bárta, *SAK* 22 (1995), *passim*. See also Bárta, *Selbstzeugnis eines Künstlers*, p. 51: "Ein *jm3h* wäre dann derjenige, der auf Grund richtig gehoffenen Vorsorge die Garantie der Wiedergeburt besitzt. Allein darin liegt sein Geehrtsein, das sich beim noch auf Erden Lebenden eine designierte Würde, auf einen erst in der Zukunft eintretenden Zustand stützt."

d)  as for instance in the tomb of Niuty at Giza²⁰⁸ and in the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara.²⁰⁹

e)  – in the tomb of Kahifi at Giza.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Altenmüller, *Moussa Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 19.

²¹⁰ Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 105, fig. 28.

Chapter III:

THE TOMB OF FETEKTY AND ADJACENT TOMB COMPLEXES

3.1 State before excavation

With the exception of the tomb of Fetekty¹ which had already been investigated by Lepsius' expedition in the nineteenth century, the remaining tombs in the cemetery were excavated and examined in two subsequent trial campaigns carried out at South Abusir in the years of 1991 and 1993. None of these tombs – apart from Fetekty – had been known prior to the excavation.²

The Lepsius expedition to Egypt in 1843 was the first to discover Fetekty's tomb.³ In fact, it was only the beautifully painted decoration on the walls of its pillared court which were published in some detail, together with the ground plan of the excavated northern part of the tomb. Since that time, for more than one and half centuries, the precise location of the tomb remained unknown.

According to the map and notes of Lepsius, the tomb existed somewhere between Abusir and North Saqqara.⁴ An attempt to relocate the tomb was made by Spencer in 1974. He sought for the tomb approximately on the southward inclined slopes of the northernmost hillock of the area that was once erroneously associated with North Saqqara.⁵ However, the precise location of

Fetekty's tomb was ascertained by the Czech Institute of Egyptology only in 1991.

The cemetery that developed around the tomb of Fetekty is situated on the northern slope of an eastward descending *wadi*, a short distance from the present area of cultivation (fig. 3.1). The tombs had been hidden under a 0.30–0.50 m layer of desert sand and their architectural and decoration elements suffered heavily from both water erosion and wind abrasion. Damage from the elements was the main reason why in several cases it was possible to document only some parts of the tombs. The position of the tombs within the cemetery indicates that the cemetery developed continuously from the east to the west. The most representative tombs were built on the eastern side of the cemetery which is also the older part of the complex, the more one proceeds to the west, the poorer and later are the tombs one encounters.

The tombs enumerated and discussed below are listed chronologically according to their approximate date and relative position within the cemetery from the earliest down to the latest one.

3.2 Tomb 1 – Tomb of Hetepi⁶

The tomb of Hetepi is the oldest and northernmost tomb within the limits of the excavated part of the cemetery so far. Its roughly rectangular plan, measuring 20.00 × 5.80 m, is orientated by the long axis almost exactly in a north–south direction. The masonry of the tomb consists of mudbricks used for the construction of the core of the walls. Local

¹ For the correct reading of this personal name see Edel, *Qubbet El Hawa* II, pp. 56–58.

² For the tomb of Fetekty see PM III, p. 351, for the report on the 1991 excavation season Verner, *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 295–305, pls. 48–51; *idem*, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, pp. 90–92.

³ LD II, pl. 96; LD *Ergänz.*, pl. 40; PM III, p. 351; Freier, Grunert, *Eine Reise durch Ägypten*, pp. 47–55.

⁴ LD I, pl. 32 (no. 1); LD Text I, p. 139; PM III, p. 351; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 8.

⁵ Spencer, *Orientalia*, N.S. 43 (1974): 5, no. 1 and tab.1.

⁶ For the preliminary report see Verner, *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 298, fig. 3 (tomb CC); 300; 301, fig. 7; pl. 50a.

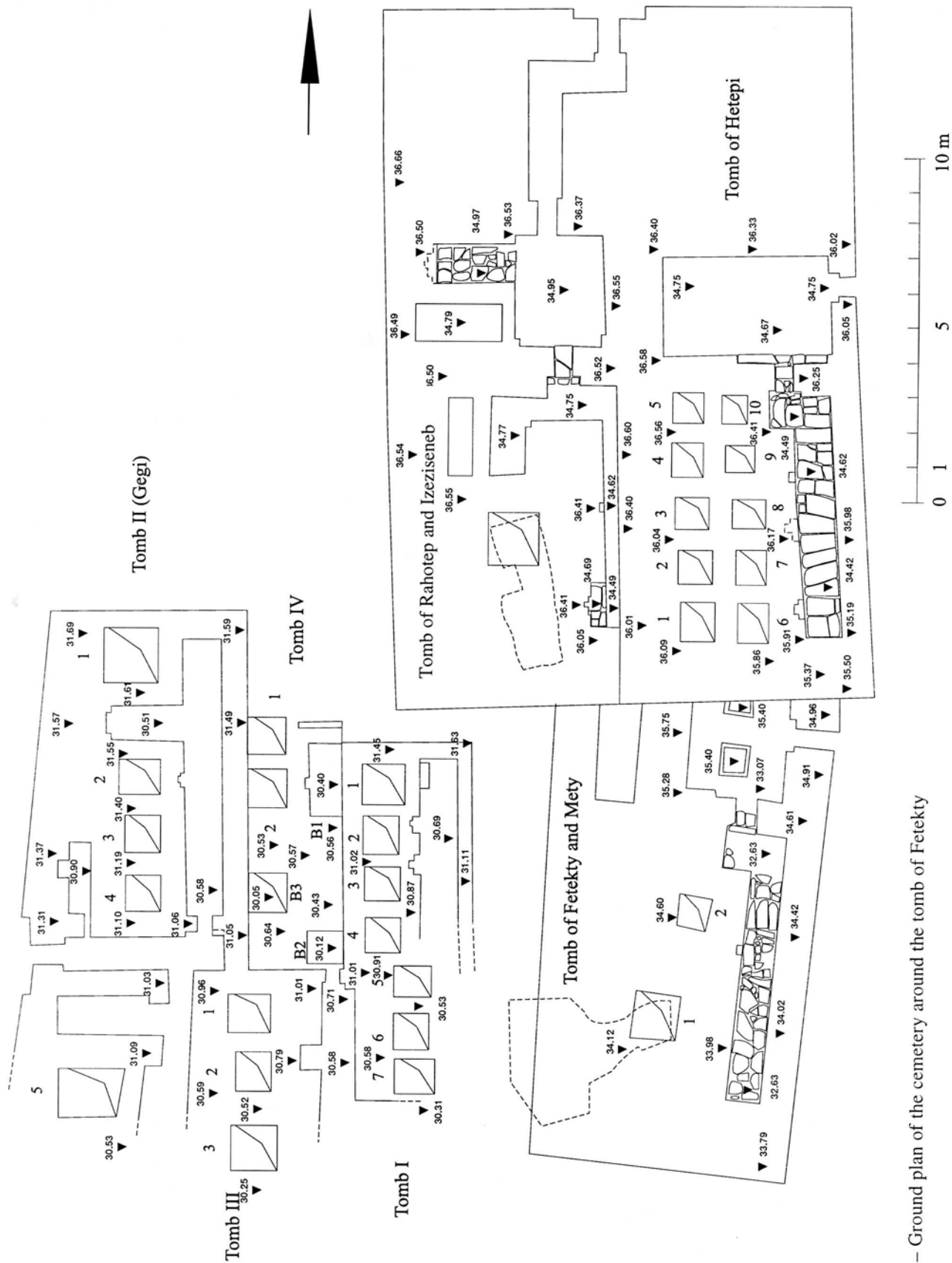


Fig. 3.1 – Ground plan of the cemetery around the tomb of Fetekty

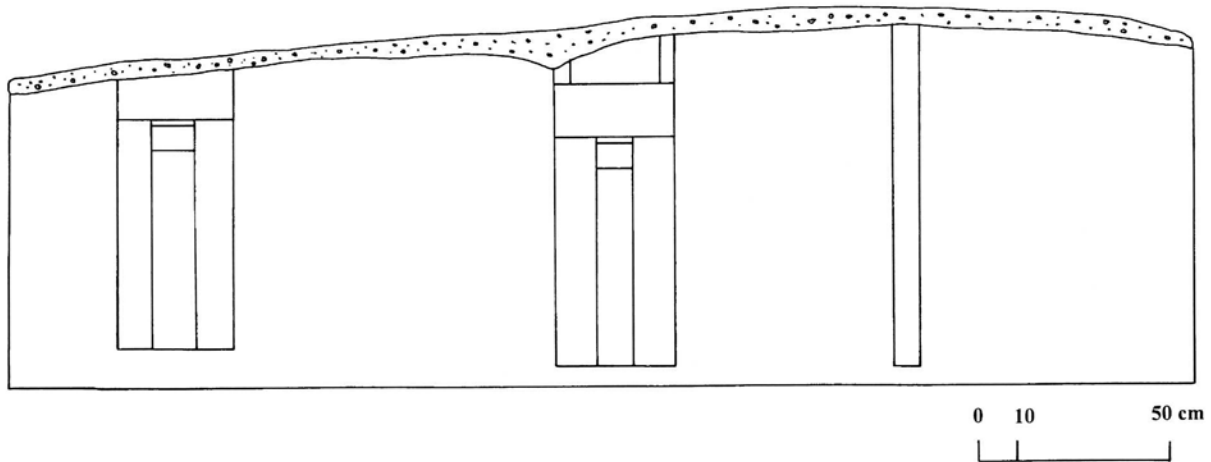


Fig. 3.2 – West wall in the chapel of Hetepi

limestone blocks of inferior quality were used for the casing of the walls.

3.2.1 Superstructure

The original entrance into the tomb was situated in the east wall at the northeastern corner of the tomb. The entrance gives access into an oblong, east-west oriented open court measuring 4.76 x 2.88 m (pl. XXIVa). The floor of the court was made of beaten clay. The walls of the court were built at different angles; the north and east walls were perpendicular, whereas the south and west walls were built at an angle of 84 degrees and 87 degrees respectively. Since there were no architectural or stratigraphical features indicating the existence of a roof of any kind, it seems feasible that there was no roof protecting the court at all. The debris within the court consisted of sand mixed with roughly dressed limestone blocks of masonry that had collapsed from the tops of the side walls surrounding the court, together with some mudbricks from the core-walls. This destruction was about 1.00 m high.

The best preserved northern wall of the court still had a height of about 2 m at the moment of its discovery. In the eastern part of the southern wall of the court there was a portico (2.60 m wide, but only 0.23 m deep) leading into an L-shaped, stone-paved corridor chapel opening to the south (Reisner's Type 5a).⁷ The chapel was 6.95 m long and 1.06 m wide and was accessible by means of a short vestibule with irregular walls measuring approximately 1.00 x 1.00 m in ground plan (pls. XXIVb, XXVa).

The walls of the corridor chapel have been preserved to a height of about 1.70 m with altogether seven courses of stone masonry. The stratigraphy encountered in the chapel was virtually the same as that in the open court. In addition to that, the floor-layer (0.30–0.40 m in thickness) was packed with destroyed mudbricks which had once probably been used for roof-construction in the vault of the corridor chapel.⁸ In the west wall of the chapel two double-recessed, monolithic limestone false doors (about 0.60 m wide) were embedded and these were preserved to a height of 1.70 m. They were devoid of any inscription (fig. 3.2, pls. XXVb – XXVIb). Worth mentioning, however, is a cluster of pottery sherds that once probably represented some votive offerings found at the southernmost false door.⁹ Moreover, further to the north, there was a shallow niche in the west wall of the chapel.

3.2.2 Substructure

The superstructure further to the west of the chapel concealed the openings of a total of ten shafts arranged in two north-south oriented rows (fig. 3.3). Proceeding from the south to the north the dimensions of the shaft openings are reduced in size, and their placement is shifted slightly to the west. All the shafts were hewn out of the soft *tafl* bedrock and the original filling of the shafts consisted of *tafl* filling interspersed with occasional Old Kingdom sherds. The upper sections of

⁸ For similar mudbrick vaults in non-royal tombs see now Nagar, *Les voûtes*, p. 165ff (“les voûtes en berceau en brique”).

⁹ This “nest” included fragments of three offering traces, fragments of three beer jars, one fragment of a Meidum bowl, fragments of another three shallow bowls and one storage jar.

⁷ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 185 and 256ff.

the shaft walls (approximately the portion embedded within the superstructure) were lined with *tafl* mudbrick in order to strengthen the stability of the friable side walls.

The classification of the burial niches or rooms uses the simple terminological classification developed for the Lake of Abusir tombs.¹⁰

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.04 (E–W) × 1.09 (N–S).

Depth: 8.32 m. The shaft was lined to a depth of 2.04 m with mudbricks (0.27–0.29 × 0.13 × 0.09 m). Filling: 0–1.90 m yellow wind-blown sand, 1.90 m – to the bottom *tafl* filling.

Burial: The burial chamber was situated in the eastern wall of the shaft and it was 1.29 m deep, 1.66 m long and 1.21 m high. The entrance into the chamber was originally blocked by a mudbrick wall. In the floor of the chamber there was a sunken shallow, rectangular burial pit (0.90 × 0.50 m, 0.50 m deep). The male burial (Excav. No. 1/CC/91) had already been robbed in antiquity. Due to the state of preservation of the skeleton it was impossible to determine the age of the deceased.

Shaft 2

Opening: 0.94 × 1.00 m.

Depth: 6.20 m. The shaft was lined to a depth of 2.40 m with mudbricks (0.27 × 0.14 × 0.09 m, bonding type A6¹¹).

Filling: The whole shaft had been filled with *tafl* debris mixed with dark sand and with some fragments of Old Kingdom pottery (beer jars and bread moulds).

Burial: There is a shallow niche in the west wall of the shaft, 0.70 m deep, 1.02 m high and 1.39 m long. The burial (Excav. No. 2/CC/91) of a man (adultus II) had already been destroyed in antiquity.

Shaft 3

Opening: 0.96 × 0.92 m.

Depth: 2.52 m. The shaft was lined to the bottom with mudbricks (0.26–7 × 0.12–3 × 0.08–9 m, bonding type A6).

Filling: The shaft was filled to a depth of 1.50 m with wind-blown sand, followed by about a 0.40 m

thick layer of dark sand mixed with *tafl* with animal bones and pottery sherds. At the bottom of the shaft there was again a layer of the wind-blown sand.

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 4

Opening: 0.82 × 0.89 m.

Depth: 2.44 m. The shaft had been lined down to the bottom with mudbricks (0.27 × 0.13 × 0.08, bonding type A6).

Filling: The uppermost layer, about 0.36 m thick, this fill consisted of wind-blown sand. This was followed by a layer of dark sand mixed with mudbrick fragments and *tafl*. About 0.50 m above the floor there was a 0.10 m thick layer consisting of animal bones and pottery (bread moulds, stands). A low, pottery jar stand at a depth of 1.80 m was found.

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 5

Opening: 0.80 × 0.84 m.

Depth: 2.22 m. The shaft had been lined down to the bottom with mudbricks (0.27 × 0.13 × 0.09 m, bonding type A8¹²).

Filling: The uppermost layer, about 0.40 thick, of wind-blown sand was followed by a layer of wind-blown sand mixed with fragments of mudbricks. At a depth of 1.20 m a low, pottery jar stand was found.

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 6 – Serdab (pls. XXVIIa – XXVIIIa)

Shaft opening: 0.92 × 0.97 m.

Depth: 2.52 m.

The shaft was, with the exception of the last 0.25–0.35 m, lined with mudbricks (0.27 × 0.12 × 0.08 m).

Filling: The first 0.25 m consisted of wind-blown sand. The remaining portion of the shaft had been filled with dark sand mixed with pieces of *tafl*.

This shaft served as a serdab and contained three completely decayed wooden standing statues. The statues belonged to a woman, man and a child (from the south to the north) and were facing east, i.e. towards the offering chapel. The highest statue was about 1.20 m high and probably represented the tomb owner. The statues were placed about

¹⁰ *Burial niche*: the height of the cavity is greater than its length or depth; *burial chamber*: the depth and/or length of the chamber is greater than its height.

¹¹ Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, pl. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 4.

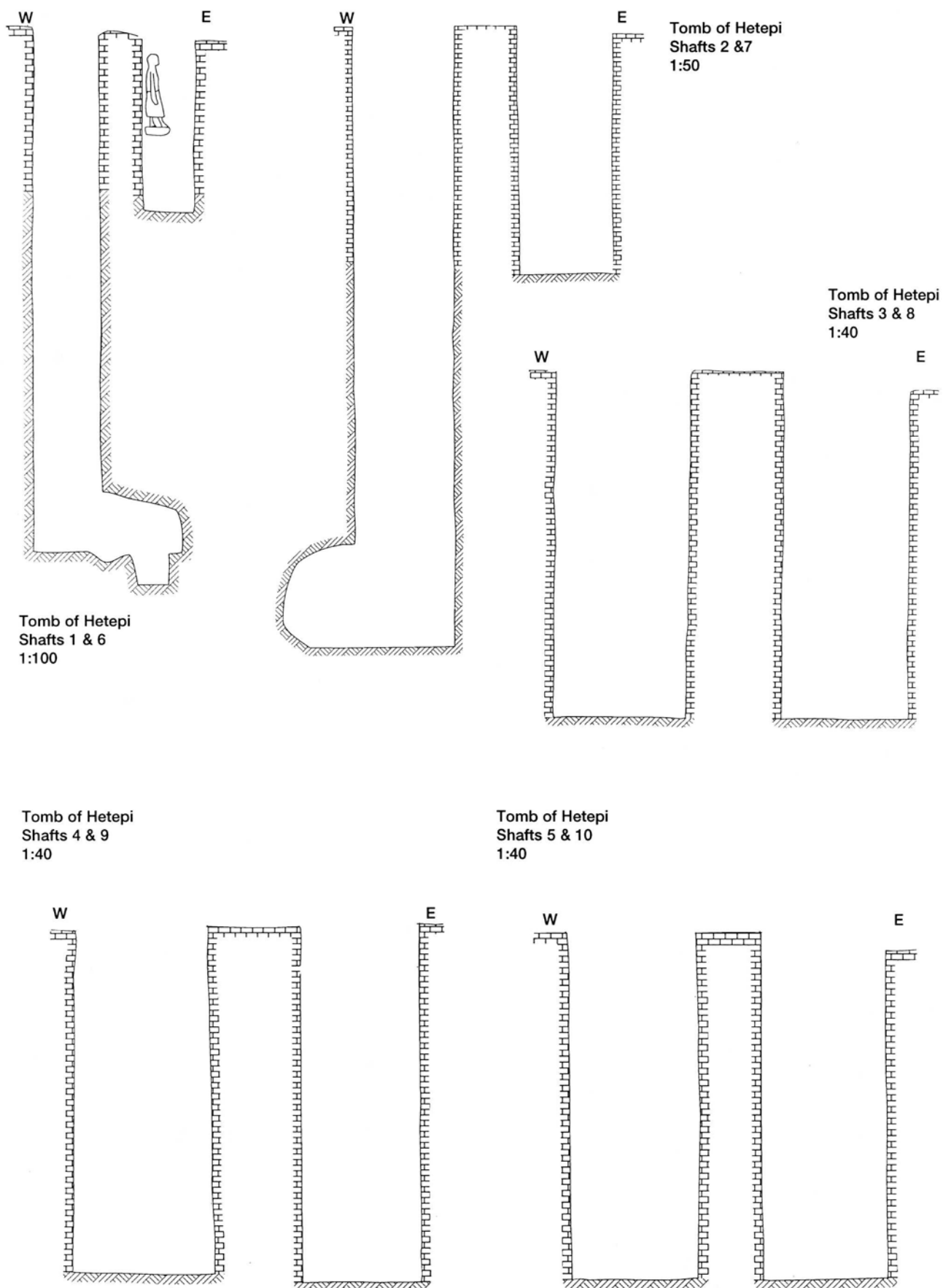


Fig. 3.3 – Tomb of Hetepi, shafts 1–10

1.30 m above the bottom of the shaft, their backs nearly touching the west shaft wall.

Shaft 7

Opening: 0.96 × 0.96 m.

Depth: 2.40–2.50 m. The shaft was lined with mudbricks down to the bottom (0.27 × 0.14 × 0.09 m).

Filling: the shaft had been filled with dark sand mixed with *tafl* and some fragments of Old Kingdom pottery.

Burial: The burial of a female (adultus I, Excav. No. 3/CC/91) was situated 1.10 m above the bottom of the shaft. The burial had been disturbed and traces of reed matting in which the body was wrapped were still discernible.

Shaft 8

Opening: 0.92–6 × 0.84–8 m.

Depth: about 2.40 m. The shaft was lined down to the bottom with mudbricks (0.27 × 0.13 × 0.08 m, bonding type A6).

Filling: The shaft had been filled with dark sand mixed with hewn *tafl*.

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 9

Opening: 0.90 × 0.86 m.

Depth: 2.30 m. The shaft had been lined down to the bottom with mudbricks (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.09 m, bonding type A6).

Filling: The uppermost layer (0.30 m) consisted of wind-blown sand followed by a layer of dark sand mixed with *tafl* and fragments of mudbricks. Some 0.86 m above the floor there was a 0.20 m thick layer of pottery fragments from a large bowl and a jar (Excav. Nos. 4/CC/91 and 5/CC/91).

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 10

Opening: 0.80 × 0.86 m.

Depth: 2.20 m and the walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks (0.28 × 0.13 × 0.09 m, bonding type A6).

Filling: The shaft had been filled with yellow wind-blown sand.

Burial: No burial.

3.2.3 The titles and the name of the tomb owner

The identification of the tomb owner was possible only due to several well preserved red-ink hieratic graffiti encountered on the casing blocks of the western face of the tomb (thus, the eastern wall of

the later chapel of Rahotep, for this tomb see section 3.3). These graffiti were found on blocks of the seventh row of stones (counted from the floor level) starting about 1.50 m above the floor of the chapel of Rahotep. One additional inscribed block was at the bottom of the wall, at its southern end (fig. 3.4). Each block was inscribed independently in an almost identical way, perhaps already in the quarries lying nearby.¹³ These graffiti indicate that even a tomb casing made of local limestone was an important enterprise and that every block from the “second class” quarries had to be carefully registered and sent to its final destination. Hetepi is on these blocks designed as:

(j)r(j)-(j)h(t) nswt, (j)m(j)-r pr-šn^c, Htpj

“The property custodian of the king (1), overseer of the magazines (2), Hetepi (3).”

1) (j)r(j)-(j)h(t) nswt

The title “property custodian of the king” belongs to the oldest group of titles for high officials at the court.¹⁴ Following the end of the Fourth Dynasty it seems that the title went through a process of transfiguration and started to be applied on a mere symbolic and religious level to those officials concerned with the property of the king in his mortuary complex.¹⁵ During this period, however, the rank of the officials holding this title was much lower than during the period down to the Fourth Dynasty. The context of the title within the late Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty indicates that the duties of Hetepi were therefore carried out in a royal pyramid complex.

2) (j)m(j)-r pr-šn^c

The title “overseer of the magazines”¹⁶ belongs to a group of titles for lower-ranking late Old Kingdom officials.¹⁷ According to Helck,¹⁸ it is possible to translate the term *pr-šn^c* as “Arbeitshaus” or “Verarbeitungsanlage” and interpret it as a production unit or workshop or series of workshops and magazines. During the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty there occur several overseers of these units among the temple personnel in the sun sanctuaries and mortuary temples of kings. There are

¹³ Klemm, Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche*, p. 72.

¹⁴ Bárta, ZÄS 126 (1999): 79–89; Jones, *Index I*, pp. 327–328, No. 1206.

¹⁵ Bárta, ZÄS 126 (1999): 84–89.

¹⁶ See *Wb IV*, 508.24.

¹⁷ Jones, *Index I*, pp. 125–126; No. 501.

¹⁸ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 127; idem, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 47; also *Wb IV*, 507.12–13. For the similar context of the term *pr-šn^c* see Hawass, in *Haus und Palast*, p. 53 and 60.

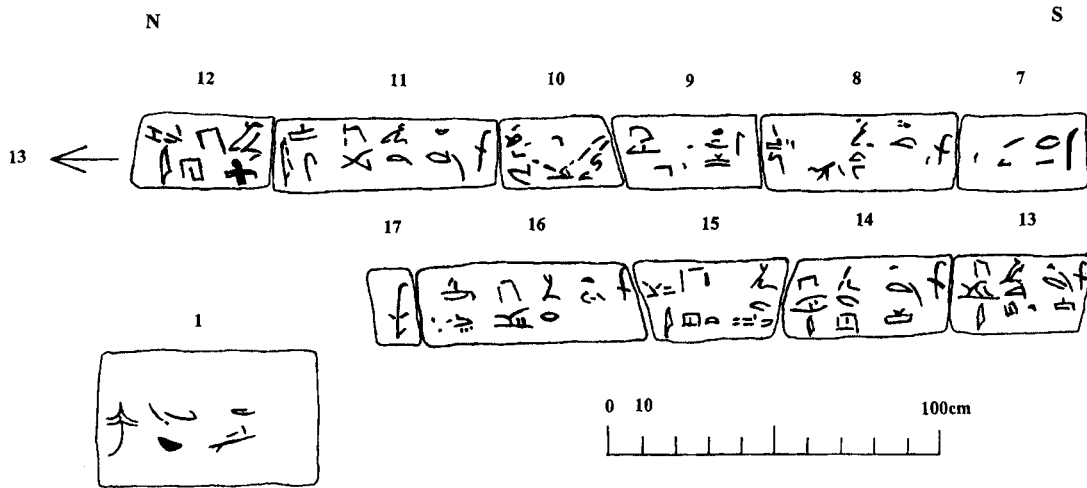


Fig. 3.4 – Graffiti with the name and the titles of Hetepi

some holders of this title attested in the provincial temples, too.

The context of the Abusir papyri, however, leaves no doubt that the *pr-šn* was understood in a somewhat more specific context, and that it must have referred to a group of magazines within the pyramid temple.¹⁹ Plausibly, it may be supposed that the magazines situated within the temples and designed as *pr-šn* were first of all used as storage rooms for commodities which were subsequently offered during the temple ceremonies.²⁰ Hetepi was therefore a person who was responsible for the temple magazines. He was probably also in charge of the supplies into the magazines.

3) *Htpj*

The name *Htpj* is only sporadically attested as an Old Kingdom personal name. From the area of the Abusir – Saqqara pyramid fields we possess the following evidence:

– Hetepi, owner of a late Third – early Fourth Dynasty tomb at Abusir South excavated by the Czech expedition during the winter of 1999–2000. This is probably the earliest attestation of this name in the area known so far.²¹

– The official Hetepi with the titles *zš*, *zš pr-ḥd Mrj-k3-r*, *(j)m(j)-(j)ht prwj-ḥd*, *zš 'pr(w) nfr(w)*, owner of the false door discovered in the filling of

Shaft 504 W at the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and dated on stylistic grounds to the late Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate period.²²

– Tomb D 61,²³ false door in the tomb of Duaenra from Saqqara dating to the middle Fifth Dynasty or possibly later.²⁴ The name of Hetepi is written

out as *Htpj* and he carries the titles *zš pr* and *hr(j)-wdb*. In this instance, Hetepi is involved in carrying offerings for the tomb owner.

– Another reference to a man called Hetepi is attested twice in the Abusir papyri from the funerary temple of Neferirkara. Here the name of Hetepi occurs in documents 42 b (dating to the reign of Djedkara Izezi)²⁵ and 46 A7.²⁶ In the first document Hetepi is associated with the transportation of an offering donated to the temple by the physician Khufura. In the second instance, the state of preservation of the papyrus prevents any further interpretation. The forms of Hetepi's name

written out as *Htpj* and *Htpj* show certain similarities with the form of writing occurring in the graffiti in the tomb of Hetepi from Abusir. Also the contexts in the tomb of Duaenra and in the Abusir papyri show some similarities since in both cases the person

¹⁹ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 34, and 35–37.

²⁰ See *Wb* IV, 508. 4–5.

²¹ The excavation report is currently in preparation by B. Vachala and M. Bárta. For popular accounts on the tomb discovery see (in Czech) B. Vachala, in *Lidé a Země* 49.4, Praha 2000, pp. 223–225 (“Další abúširský objev”) and in *Univerzitní Noviny* 7.4, Brno 2000, pp. 35–37 (“Objev Hetepiho hrobky v Abúširu”).

²² *PM* III, p. 562; Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906–1907), p. 72, pl. 6.2.

²³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 456 (under H 15). For the tomb itself see *ibid.*, pp. 349–350.

²⁴ *PM* III, p. 608.

²⁵ Posener-Kriéger, de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pl. 42; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 303 and 491.

²⁶ Posener-Kriéger, de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pl. 46; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 308.

of Hetepi is involved in carrying off some offerings. Another conspicuous feature is that the above attestations date virtually to the same period.

Therefore, it is possible to assume that three persons called equally Hetepi (Hetepi from the tomb of Duaenra, Hetepi from the Abusir papyri and Hetepi from Abusir South) might have been identical. Hetepi's second title from the tomb of Duaenra – *hr(j)-wdb* – also provides support for this identification. This title is namely associated with the presentation of offerings during the cult ceremonies, too.²⁷

If the identity proposed above should be correct, Hetepi would be one of the few from the Abusir cult personnel to be identified by his tomb. This is further supported by the fact, that in all the above mentioned contexts, the person of Hetepi is associated with presentation of the offerings and with the temple magazines where the offerings were temporarily stored.

3.3 Tomb 2 – Tomb of Rahotep and Izeziseneb²⁸

The superstructure of the tomb of Rahotep and Izeziseneb abuts on the western face of the tomb of Hetepi in such a way that its north and south walls are an extension of the walls of the tomb of Hetepi further in a westerly direction. The resulting unified oblong ground plan of these two tombs measures 7.20 m (east-west) × 20.30 m (north-south).

3.3.1 Superstructure

The entrance into the tomb was situated in the north front of the tomb, taking the shape of a recess about 2.10 m wide. The short passage leading to the south opens into a narrow, L-shaped corridor which leads into an open court situated further to the south (pl. XXVIIIb). The court is almost rectangular in shape, measuring 2.30 × 3.19 m, and its walls are preserved to a height of about 1.60 m. To the west of the court there was the east-west oriented chapel of Izeziseneb (pl. XXIXa).

This chapel was the only part of the tomb complex paved with stone blocks. In the south wall of the court there was another shallow passage leading into a corridor chapel with the false door of Rahotep, as well as a doorway to a magazine situated in the northwest of this chapel. The passage was originally closed by a one-leaf door opening to the south, with a pivot in the floor at the west wall. In the east wall of the passage, at a height of 0.80 – 1.04 m, there was a hole for the bar of the door.

The east wall of the court and the east wall of the chapel of Rahotep provided sufficient evidence for the stratigraphy of the masonry within the tomb. Only these two walls show an inclination of 84°50' and 81 degrees – 82 degrees respectively. This fact sharply contrasts with the rest of the masonry with its almost perpendicular walls (the angle varying between 88°– 91°). This evidence corroborates the fact that the tomb was not an original internal part of the complex planned and initiated by Hetepi, but that it was built some time later on with the intention of extending the original tomb plan to the west. The angle of the above two walls shows clearly that they originally formed the outer western walls of the tomb of Hetepi.

With exception of the stone-paved chapel of Izeziseneb all the other rooms had their floors made of beaten clay packed with limestone flakes.

3.3.1.1 Chapel of Izeziseneb

The east-west oriented chapel of Izeziseneb (Reisner's Type 7²⁹) measured 2.0 × 1.09 m and it was entered from the east through the open court. Due to the layout of the chapel, only the longer northern and southern walls of the chapel had probably been decorated originally. The whole width of the west wall was occupied by the false door which was built of several blocks of limestone. The false door was placed on a base formed by a limestone block about 0.32 m above the pavement of the chapel.

The north wall of the chapel still bore some discernible remains of the white plaster with traces of preserved painted decoration which originally must have been comparable with that encountered in the tomb of Fetekty (see below). At a height of 1.10 m above the floor level starts the lowermost register with decoration (fig. 3.5).

²⁷ Junker, *Giza II*, pp. 65–66; Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938): 85–86; Goedicke, in Allam, ed., *Grund und Boden*, p. 234. There is no need to consider the false door of Hetepi from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery which dates, on stylistic grounds, to a later period. Also the titles show that his duties were different from those carried out by the officials in the pyramid temples.

²⁸ Verner, *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 300–305; 302, fig. 8; 303, fig. 9; pl. 50b and 51; *idem*, *Forgotten Pyramids, Lost Pharaohs*, p. 90, 92–93.

²⁹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 185 and 261ff.

The lower parts of four striding persons oriented to the west and east and an incomplete figure of an ox are preserved. The whole register probably depicted some sorts of activities that were connected with the breeding and feeding of cattle. It is probable that this lowermost register was part of a decoration consisting of some more registers containing butchering scenes and outdoor pursuits such as marsh and pastoral scenes, the deceased being depicted as spear fisherman, etc.³⁰

portion of inscriptions arranged in columns reads as follows:

Inner right door jamb:



63

htp (dj) nswt, htp (dj) Jnpw, hnt(j) zh ntr, krst(j).f(j) m hr(t)-ntr

[*m zmjt*] *jmntt (m-ht) j3w(t) nfr(t) wrt, jm3h(w) hr ntr 3, r-Nhn (n) z3b,*³¹ *Jzzj-snb(w)*

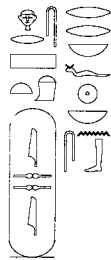
“A boon which the king gives, a boon which Anubis (gives) (1), who is before his shrine, may he be buried in the necropolis,³²

[in the] western desert, (after) having attained a good old age,³³ as well-provided before the Great God (2), speaker of Nekhen of *z3b*, Izeziseneb.”

1) For the particular form of writing of the offering formula with the *t* sign above the *htp* sign and without the second sign for *dj* Lapp gives only two examples dating to the late Old Kingdom – the tomb of Ankhudja Itji³⁴ and the tomb of Khuy,³⁵ both of Sixth Dynasty date at Giza.

2) The enumeration and conjunction of the “Bitte 4” and “5” is a frequent feature of the offering formulas.³⁶

There is a striding figure of Izeziseneb at the lower end of the false door wearing a long wig, quite a short beard and a broad *wsh* – collar.³⁷ His short kilt has a pointed front part, the typical feature for the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty.³⁸ In his right hand he grasps a long staff, his left hand hanging loosely alongside his body. The figure is facing to the left and it has still preserved some traces of the original red paint on the body.



Outer right door jamb:

....*hr(j) s3t3*....[*m*]*rr nb.f r3- nb, Jzzj-snb(w)*

³¹ For the reading and understanding of this title see Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 265 (14) and de Cenival, *RdE* 27 (1975): 64. For the latest survey of the title and its significance during the Old Kingdom period see Callender, in Bárta, Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp. 361-380.

³² Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 41, §62. Bárta, *Opferformel*, p. 16. “Bitte 4”: *krstw.f m hrt-ntr m smjt jmntt*.

³³ Bárta, *Opferformel*, p. 17, “Bitte 5”; Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 204–205, §346.

³⁴ Junker, *Giza VIII*, p. 125, fig. 28; *PM III*, p. 167.

³⁵ Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 34, fig. 11; *PM III*, p. 120.

³⁶ Bárta, *Opferformel*, p. 201.

³⁷ Staehelin, *Tracht*, p. 113ff. – “der breite Halskragen aus Perlen.”

³⁸ *Ibid.*, – “der Schurz mit der glatten Vorbau.”

“...privy to the secret(s)...., beloved of his Lord every day,³⁹ Izeziseneb.”

The figure of Izeziseneb below the inscription is identical with the preceding one. It differs only in that it is larger in size and he is holding a piece of folded linen, a kind of handkerchief, in his left hand.⁴⁰ There is a probability that the figures of Izeziseneb depicted on the inner jambs were originally also holding handkerchiefs. But precisely these places are rather unclear (in the first case) and missing (in the second case).

Inner left door jamb:



[*htp (dj) nswt*], *htp dj Jnpw, hnt(j) zh ntr, krs.t(j).f(j) m hr(t)-ntr*

[*m*] *zmjt jmntt [(m-ht) j3w(t) nfr(t) wr(t), jm3h(w) hr ntr 3, r-Nhn (n) z3b,*] *Jzzj-[snb(w)]*

“[A boon which the king gives], a boon which (gives) Anubis, who is in front of his shrine, may he be buried in the necropolis,

[in the western] desert, [after having attained a good old age, as a well-provided before the Great God, speaker of Nekhen (of) *z3b*, Izezi[seneb] (1).”

1) Since the rest of the inscriptions on the false door is arranged symmetrically, it seems probable that the missing part of the text on the inner left door jamb was identical with that on the right side.

Only the lower part of the striding figure of Izeziseneb is preserved. Nevertheless, from the traces preserved, it is clear that the figure is iden-

³⁹ On this expression and limited use of the verb *mrj* see Otto, *MDAIK* 25 (1969): 98–100.

⁴⁰ Fischer, *MMJ* 10 (1975): 9–21.

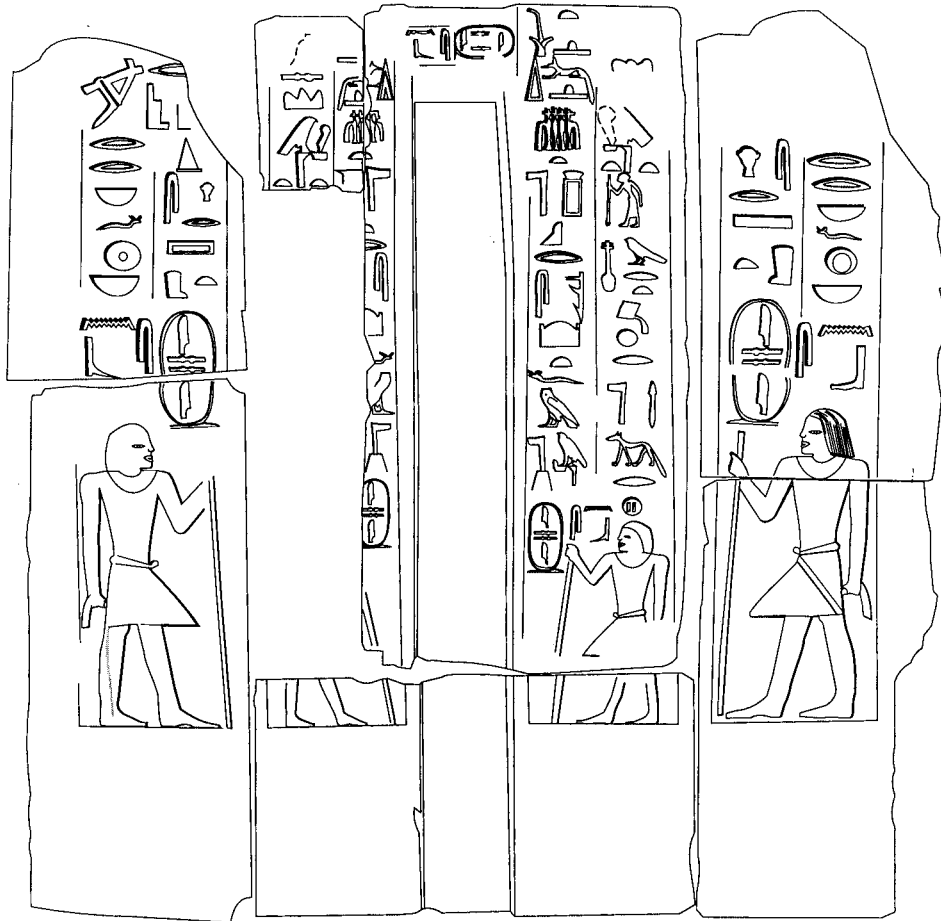
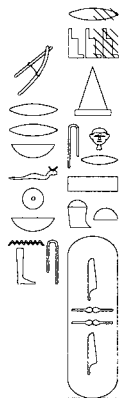


Fig. 3.6 – False door of Izeziseneb (1:10)

tical with that on the inner right jamb (i.e. striding figure leaning on a staff, oriented to the right).
Outer left door jamb:



...[nt]r(j) jswt [Mn-k3w-Hr] hr(j)-s3t3
...mrr nb f r nb, Jzzj-snb(w).

“...privy to the secret(s) of the (pyramid complex)
Divine are the places of Menkauhor,⁴¹
...beloved of his Lord every day, Izeziseneb.”

Once again, the striding figure below the text and oriented to the right is identical with that on the outer right door jamb.

To the south of the chapel of Izeziseneb there was a small, east-west oriented serdab robbed in antiquity. The serdab measured 1.00 m (north-south) x 2.37 m (east-west), it was about 1.70 m deep and void of finds.

3.3.1.2 Chapel of Rahotep

The L-shaped corridor chapel of Rahotep (Reisner's Type 5c⁴²) was entered through a short passage in the south wall of the open court (pl. XXXIb). The chapel itself consisted of a 7.05 long and only 0.50 m wide corridor. The eastern wall of the chapel (originally the outer wall of the tomb of Hetepi) had an angle of 81 degrees in average and was preserved to a height of about 1.80 m. The

⁴¹ For the reading of the names of the pyramid complexes see now Fischer *Varia Nova*, pp. 73–77.

⁴² Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 185 and 257.

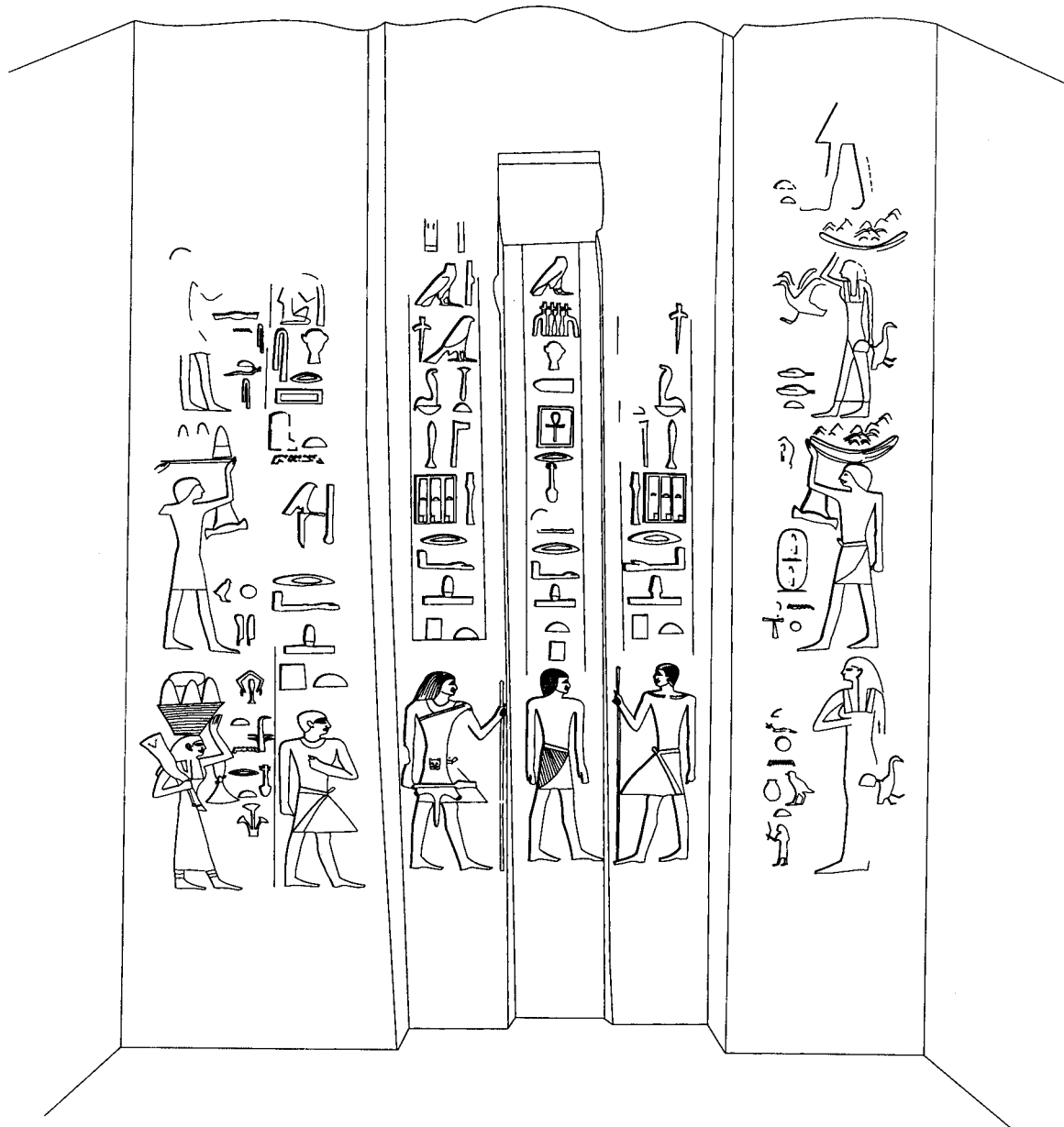


Fig. 3.7 – False door of Rahotep (1:10)

The outer left door jamb consists of two columns (inner and outer) with decoration.

Inner column:



...w^cb, hr(j)-sšt3 n mdw-ntr, R^c-hṭp(w)

“... the wab (priest), privy to the secret(s) of the god’s words, Rahotep.”

There is a smaller striding figure of Rahotep facing right below the inscription. He has a short wig (the same as on the inner right door jamb), wears a collar and a short kilt with a triangular front piece. His left hand is folded on his breast and the right one hangs loosely alongside his body (pl. XXXIVb).

Outer column:

The surface of the outer column is divided into three registers arranged vertically and containing the offering bearers proceeding to the right. In the uppermost register there is a partly damaged figure

of a striding woman with a basket on her head supported by her left hand. Her name can be possibly restored as *Snd(w)-(j)tf.s*. In the middle register there is a striding male figure carrying a tray with conical loaves of bread and figs on his head. He is balancing the laden tray with both his arms. The label gives his name as *Hwy*.⁴⁴ In the lowermost register there is a striding female figure with a flat-bottomed basket on her head loaded again with conical loaves of bread. She is supporting the basket with her left arm from which hangs a small bag. In her right she is grasping a foreleg of beef. She is wearing a long tightly fitting tunic and a long wig. The label relating to her reads as follows: *hmt-k3 Nfr(t)-h3-nswt*, "the priestess Neferetkhanesut."⁴⁵

Outer right door jamb contains a single column with decoration. There are four offering-bearers on the outer right jamb proceeding to the left. In the topmost row there are traces of a striding person with remains of *...t*. The second figure is a woman carrying on her head a basket laden with figs. From her bent right arm supporting the basket hangs a fowl. She is grasping another fowl in her left hand and wearing a long wig and a long tight dress suspended from shoulder straps. Her name is given as *Ddt*.⁴⁶ Below her there is a male offering-bearer with short-cut hair and a short tight kilt. He is carrying a basket on his head laden with figs. From his bent right arm supporting the basket is hanging a wickerwork frail. The label referring to him reads: *hm-k3 Jzj-ḥ(w)*, "the priest Iziakh".⁴⁷ In the lowermost row there is depicted a female. She is wearing a long, tightly fitting dress with two broad straps over her shoulders, her right arm is bent across her breast, the left arm grasps a fowl. The label referring to her is partly damaged: *....[hm]t.f Hnwt*, his [wife] Khenut (pl. XXXIVa).⁴⁸

Two features found on the jambs perhaps deserve a closer analysis. It is the inner column on the outer left jamb and the lowermost female figure on the outer right jamb.

Firstly, it is the inner column with inscription and smaller figure of Rahotep on the outer left jamb. At first sight it may be surprising that the

column of inscription containing several titles of Rahotep (enumerating apparently different titles from those mentioned on the inner jambs) has no counterpart on the opposite side of the false door. Furthermore, the titles enumerated in the text differ entirely from those associated with Rahotep in the remaining portion of the inscriptions. Lastly, the smaller figure of Rahotep differs from the three others not only in size, but also in the gesture of veneration expressed by his left hand folded on his breast with the hand clenched into a fist.⁴⁹

The figure itself is the smallest of all the figures of Rahotep on the false door. According to its size and attitude it is rather comparable to those of the offering bearers. It is possible to trace similar attitudes of veneration from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (children of Rahotep at Meidum).⁵⁰ The depiction on the false door of Rahotep from Meidum shows Rahotep venerated by six of his children, three boys and three girls. All of them have one hand laid on the breast. The only difference between the boys and the girls is the fact that the boys have the hand clenched into a fist whereas the girls' hands lie flat on the breast.

From the above observations (contextual placement next to the offering bearers, arising asymmetry when associating the figure of Rahotep with that of the tomb owner, the venerating attitude of the person concerned and last, but not least, the titles differing entirely from those on the inner jambs). It seems to be quite appropriate to assign this figure and inscription on Rahotep's false door to Rahotep's son, who must have been named after his father.

In the second particular case, it is the figure of Khenut on the outer right jamb placed at the bottom of the registers. The figure differs from the remaining offering bearers in that she bears only a fowl in her left hand. There are two more significant attributes which make this person remarkable among the offering-bearers. First, it is her right arm folded on the breast in the same manner of veneration as in the example of the Rahotep's son Rahotep. The only difference is that her hand is laid flat on her breast.

Second, this woman is the only person on the jamb who is not depicted in a striding attitude but is simply standing. As such, she represents in a cer-

⁴⁴ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 267.13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 197.26; for the short form of the name see Hassan, *Giza* III, p. 43, fig. 39; Fischer, *Index of Personal names*, p. 3 (numbers of pages not given).

⁴⁶ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 403.4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.17.

⁴⁸ *Idem*, *Personennamen* II, 310.15.

⁴⁹ See Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, p. 5; 8, fig. 1, 2–8 (I); Brunner Traut, *LÄ* II (1977), col. 578, 1e; Vandier, *Manuel* IV, p. 321, fig. 153.6.

⁵⁰ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13 - for further examples see pls. 15 and 20.

Tomb of Rahotep
1:100

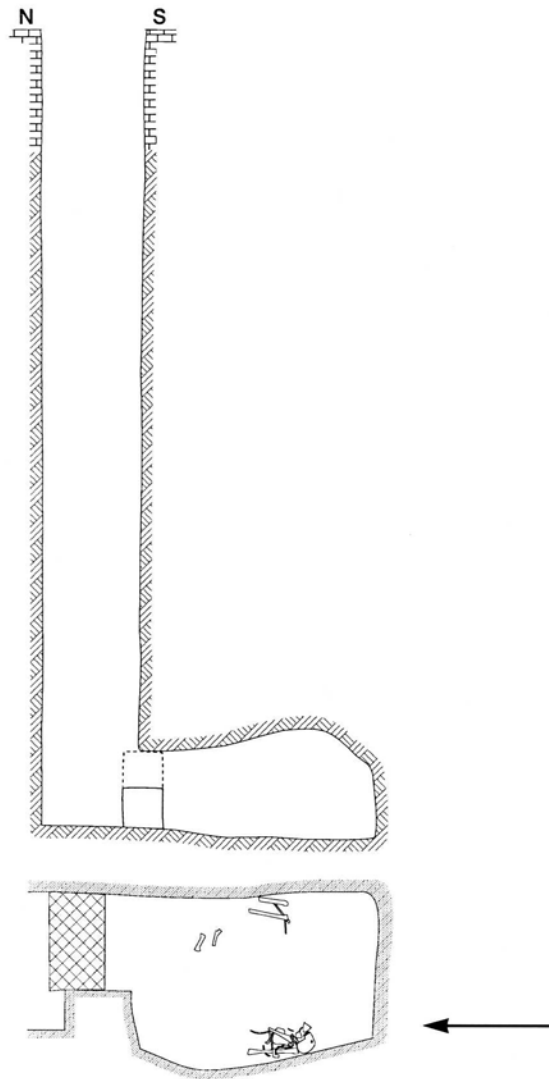


Fig. 3.8 – Burial shaft of Rahotep and his wife

tain way a counterpoise to the figure of the suggested son of Rahotep. Further on, it is the incomplete label applying to her: [*hmt?*] *f* *Hnwt* – his wife Khenut. Rather surprising is the determinative of a female person holding a stick in her hands behind the name. A nearly identical case of writing the female name Khenut with a determinative of woman holding a stick was identified by Fischer on an Old Kingdom false door of Samery at Bologna.⁵¹ He accepts Ranke's original explanation of the stick as a sistrum.⁵² These features seem to allow the interpretation of the person as a possible wife of Rahotep named Khenut (hence the suggested complementing of the label).

⁵¹ Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I* ("A False Door of the Old Kingdom in Bologna"), p. 2, fig. 2; p. 4, fig. 4.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

To the southwest of the open court, entered by the short corridor from the east (entrance 0.59 m long and 0.54 m wide), there was a north-south oriented room (2.35 × 0.97–1.11 m) with neither decoration nor finds or any other particular features. It is possible that the room served as a magazine for the cult utensils used during the cult in the tomb.

3.3.2 Substructure

To the west of the chapel of Rahotep and precisely to the south of the magazine is situated the opening of the shaft leading into the burial chamber of Rahotep (fig. 3.8).

Shaft opening: 1.28 × 1.37 m.

Depth: The shaft was 10.35 m deep. The walls of the shaft reached a depth of 1.60 m and were cased with *tafl* mudbricks (0.26 × 0.12 × 0.08 m).

Filling: The filling of the shaft consisted of homogenous windblown sand. At a depth of 8.00 m a fragment of the limestone canopic vessel was found and at a depth of 9.40 m a small pottery table painted with a thick layer of white paint imitating alabaster, was discovered (see below).

Burial: Entrance into the burial chamber was at the bottom of the shaft in its southeast corner. At the beginning of the entrance originally stood a mudbrick wall, 0.50 m in thickness, now broken. From here a short corridor, 0.64 m long and 0.90 m wide, led to the southeast into a burial chamber measuring 1.43–1.64 m (east-west) x 2.22–2.30 m, 0.97–1.40 m high. The burial chamber contained two destroyed burials of a man (?) (adultus II) and of a woman (adultus II) (Excav. Nos. 2a,b/DD/91). The only indication of the funerary equipment were bones of two heads of 0.5 year old cattle.⁵³ Beside this, with exception of the fragments in the filling of the shaft, no traces of burial equipment were found. The burials belonged to Rahotep and probably to his wife Khenut.

In the filling of the shaft were found two artefacts that may originate from the original burial equipment of the burials:

Excav. No. 3/DD/91 (pl. XXXVa)

A fragment of a limestone canopic jar, was found at a depth of 8 m. The fragment is 10 cm high, 6 cm wide and 1.4–2.1 cm in thickness, with a 2 cm high rim. On the inner wall there are clear horizontal traces of boring.

Excav. No. 4/DD/91 (pl. XXXVb)

A miniature offering table made of pottery was also discovered. The table, which had a low conical foot, was found at a depth of 9.40 m. It was covered with a thick white paste in order to imitate limestone or alabaster. It is 12 cm high and 14.2 (max.) wide at the top.

The fact that the burial chamber contained two burials and the occurrence of Rahotep's suggested wife, Khenut, on his false door make it probable that Khenut possessed no independent offering room or place designed for her own cult.

3.3.3 The titles and the names of Izeziseneb and Rahotep

3.3.3.1 Izeziseneb

There are only two titles associated with Izeziseneb and it seems that both of them are related to his service in a funerary complex for King Menkauhor.

1) *r Nhn (n) z3b*

The title "Speaker of Nekhen of *z3b*" is one of several intriguing titles for the Old Kingdom.⁵⁴ Strudwick mentions that there were at least seventeen holders of this title in the Old Kingdom and suggests that the title is perhaps complementary with some aspects of the vizier's duties, e.g. with those dealing with the justice and jurisdiction.⁵⁵

According to Helck,⁵⁶ the honorifically transposed noun *z3b* denotes the Egyptian king when travelling across the country as judge. Franke and Callender in their studies on the title were able to show that *z3b* refers to the king.⁵⁷

The occurrence of this title within the titles of Izeziseneb is rather surprising, since Izeziseneb belonged by no means to the élite and not even to the middle-ranking officials of the society. From the remaining inscriptions preserved on his false door it may be inferred that main aspects of his duties were connected with the funerary cult of King Menkauhor (see below), therefore, the context of this title is not a straightforward one.

It could be perhaps suggested that Izeziseneb was employed in the funerary cult for King Menkauhor (that was probably the case) and that he executed on the purely symbolical level the office of *r Nhn (n) z3b* in the funerary complex of

⁵⁴ De Cenival, *RdE* 27 (1975): 62–69; Franke, *SAK* 11 (1984): 209–217. For further comments on the title see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 23. Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, p. 38. For the latest analysis of the title and its interpretation see Callender, in Bárta, Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp. 361–380. See also Jones, *Index II*, p. 806, No. 2946.

⁵⁵ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 189. Along these lines went the interpretation of the title by Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 73 and 83. See also Martin-Pardey, in Bryan, Lorton, eds., *Fs Goedicke*, pp. 158–159.

⁵⁶ Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, p. 245.

⁵⁷ Franke, *SAK* 11 (1984): 212; Callender, in Bárta, Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp. 361–367 giving examples from the PT. E. Martin-Pardey (in Bryan, Lorton, eds., *Fs Goedicke*, p. 158) draws attention to the fact that duties connected with the titles containing *z3b* were manifold and were connected not only with jurisdiction of the king, but also with administration and legal aspects of his office.

⁵³ Excav. No. 2/DD/91.

the king as his voice (herald) in the Afterlife.⁵⁸ It would conform to the evolving trend during the second half of the Fifth Dynasty when some originally courtly or palace titles appear in connection with the service to the king in his eternal residence and are always associated with officials of a low social rank (such as “property custodian of the king”).⁵⁹ In fact, there is some, though sparse, evidence allowing such a conclusion. There is one more official named Sedenmaat with the identically attested title of *r Nhn (n) z3b* in the Abusir archives of Neferirkara.⁶⁰

Sedenmaat is listed in two documents together with some other officials who can be directly or indirectly associated with the administration of the palace of the king. It therefore seems plausible that Izeziseneb, in the same way as was the case with Sedenmaat, did some duties in the funerary cult of Menkauhor and that he, at least symbolically, was also associated with this title.

This, however, does not bring the problem any further forward. To what degree can the title of *r Nhn (n) z3b* be associated with the funerary duties for the king? The only intelligible solution seems to be to interpret the title with the help of its primary function, i.e. as that referring to the official who was responsible for the town of Nekhen and who, during the occasional visits of the king to Hierakonpolis, was responsible for ensuring the service to the king and his court.⁶¹ This function, then, was perhaps desirable during the cult of the deceased king in his pyramid temple, too. The identification of the royal pyramid complex with a “palace” and a gathering place of Egyptian gods seems to be ascertained by the recent study of Di. Arnold.⁶² To draw a link between a “true” archaic palace at Hierakonpolis and a royal mortuary complex may be therefore to a certain degree validated. Thus, the title may be in this context understood as “Speaker of Nekhen on behalf of the king” who stood at the service of the king in his mortuary temple during the king’s symbolic travels across the country.

2) *hr(j)-s3t3 [Nt]r(j)-jswt [Mn-k3w-Hr]*
“Privy to the secret(s) of the (pyramid complex) ‘Divine are the places of Menkauhor’.”⁶³ The crucial point for the probable reconstruction of the name of the pyramid complex which originally stood in this place and the point of departure for the following discussion is the writing of the terminal *r* of the missing word deriving either from the noun *ntr(j)* (*Ntr(j)-jswt Mn-k3w-Hr*) in the case of the pyramid complex of Menkauhor or *nfr* (*Nfr-jswt Wnjs*) in the case of the pyramid complex of Unas.⁶⁴

So far, attested variants of writing of the names of both pyramid complexes of the kings of the late Fifth Dynasty show that the one with the written complementary *r* can be only the pyramid complex of Menkauhor.⁶⁵ Therefore, it seems to be justified to restore the missing section of the text as the name of the pyramid complex of Menkauhor. This possibility may be corroborated by the fact that in the vicinity of this tomb several tombs of officials connected in this or that way with King Menkauhor have been uncovered.⁶⁶

As far as the known evidence is concerned, it seems that this title has no other attestations in the Old Kingdom.⁶⁷ There are some more *hr(j)-s3t3* holders known in connection with the names of the Old Kingdom kings or their mortuary complexes, though their number is not very high. They originate from Giza and occur in connection with the mortuary complexes of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura and are dated similarly into the Fifth – Sixth Dynasties.⁶⁸

⁶³ Jones, *Index* II, p. 633, No. 2319.

⁶⁴ Verner, *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 301 and footnote 12 favours the Unas pyramid complex.

⁶⁵ See Mariette, *Mastabas*, tomb of Raemankh: tomb D 40 (pp. 283–284); tomb of Nefeireptah: D 53 (p. 322), the tomb of Ptahhotep: Davies, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 21. For a summary of the graphic variants of these two pyramid complexes see Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen*, p. 113 (Unas) and 130–131 (Menkauhor).

⁶⁶ The analysis of locations of the tombs built in Saqqara during the reigns of the kings Menkauhor – Nyuserra shows clearly that the tombs clustered to the north of the Step Pyramid – Roth, *JARCE* 25 (1988): 202, fig. 1; 203. For the location of the pyramid of Menkauhor in the area of Serapeum see Berlandini, *RdE* 31 (1979): *passim* and Malek, in *Hommages Leclant*, p. 212 and 214.

⁶⁷ The other attested titles in connection with the funerary complex of Menkauhor include the following titles: (*j*)*m(j)-r* of the pyramid town, (*j*)*m(j)-ht hm(w)-ntr*, *hm-ntr*, *shd-w3b(w)* and *w3b*, see Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen*, p. 131.

⁶⁸ Hawass, *Funerary establishments*, Khufu: p. 741 (tab. 1) – 1 attestation, Khafra: p. 742 (tab. 2) – 2 attestations, Menkaura: p. 744 (tab. 3) – 2 attestations; Rydström, *DE* 28 (1994): 73–74.

⁵⁸ I owe this suggestion to V. G. Callender.

⁵⁹ Bárta, *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 79–89.

⁶⁰ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 294 (frg. 96 C); 385–387 (Frg. 62).

⁶¹ For the toponym see Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen*, pp. 119–122.

⁶² Di. Arnold, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 34–44.

3) *Jzzj-snb(w)*

The basiliiform name of Izeziseneb is otherwise unattested from the Old Kingdom.

3.3.3.2 *Rahotep*

It is noteworthy fact that, in contrast with the titles of Izeziseneb, Rahotep is not in possession of a single title which could be associated with funerary services. To the contrary, he seems to be exclusively connected with the duties at the palace and residence.

1) *(j)m(j)-hnt*

The title of the chamberlain (“Kammerherr”) occurs during the Old Kingdom, as well as during the later periods.⁶⁹ Its precise meaning is hard to ascertain on the basis of the evidence known thus far. It seems appropriate to accept Helck’s thesis that the title relates to a group of officials appointed to the personal service of the king.⁷⁰ The title is only sporadically attested from the Old Kingdom and its earliest occurrence dates to the Fifth Dynasty (see the tomb of Kanenesut (I) at Giza⁷¹ and Neferhor at Abusir⁷²). This title was closely associated with the title *(j)m(j)-jz*.⁷³

2) *(j)m(j)-jz*

“Councillor” (“im Palast Befindliche”⁷⁴).⁷⁵ According to the evidence of the relief-fragments from the sun-temple of Nyusera at Abu Ghurab, it is conceivable that there was a close association between the titles *(j)m(j)-jz* and *sm3 [Hr]*,⁷⁶ and *sm3 [Hr]*, *(j)m(j)-hnt*, *(j)m(j)-jz*, *smr*.⁷⁷ All four officials bearing these titles are portrayed in the very same fashion, wearing short kilts, left hands folded on the breast and holding flagellum in their right hands. But even during the Fifth Dynasty the title of the *(j)m(j)-jz* can be associated with the highest persons in the state like that of the vizier

Pehenuika.⁷⁸ There is even some sparse evidence for the title in the papyrus archive of Neferirkara at Abusir.⁷⁹

3) *hr(j)-wdb (m) hwt-^cnh*,

“Master of the king’s largess in the mansion of life.”⁸⁰ According to Junker, the title of *hr(j)-wdb* related to priests who were to accompany the offering ceremonies carried out in the tomb chapels by reciting offering formulas.⁸¹ There are several depictions of the *hr(j)-wdb* priests offering to the deceased such as in the chapel of Kanenesut (I).⁸² Gardiner⁸³ and Goedicke⁸⁴ have demonstrated that the application of the title is not limited strictly to the sacral context but that the *nomen actionis wdb* referred to a more general category of “sustenance deed” meaning “deed of land” that was used for the fulfilment of the duty.⁸⁵ The concomitant titles of Rahotep indicate a more profane character of his duties (see below), namely his concern with offices executed in the royal palace. In this given case Rahotep would have been responsible for the feasting of the king in the *hwt-^cnh* which was part of the royal palace.⁸⁶ According to Moreno Garcia, holders of the title were also responsible for conscriptions and organisation of the workforce for the *pr-nswt*.⁸⁷

4) *(j)r(j)-nfr-h3t*

“Keeper of the headdress.”⁸⁸ The title occurs as early as during the Fifth Dynasty and was assigned to those officials who took care of the royal wig(s).⁸⁹ Its holders are mainly chancellors (Kammerherren) and hairdressers like Nimaatptah, inspector of king’s hairdressers (reign of Neferirkara or later),⁹⁰ Khabauptah, overseer of manicurists and hairdressers of the Great House

⁶⁹ Jones, *Index I*, pp. 281–282, No. 1015.

⁷⁰ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 29.

⁷¹ Hassan, *Giza II*, p. 82, fig. 86.

⁷² Borchardt, *Sahure II*, p. 79, pl. 4; 91, pl. 17 (29).

⁷³ For the term see *Wb I*, 127.2 – “Kammer o.ä. als Verwaltungsausdruck”; 127.4 – “Werkstatt”; 127.5 – “(Werkstatt) besonders für die Bereitung von Salben”; 127.7 – “Palast des Königs oder Teil desselben”. *(j)m(j)-jz* - *Wb I*, 127.1 – “im Amts- und Priester- Titel *(j)m(j)-jz*”. This title, however, is attested already during the Fourth Dynasty in the titularies of the viziers Sekhemkara (Hassan, *Giza IV*, p. 107, fig. 54) and Nikaura (*LD II*, pl. 15).

⁷⁴ Bissing, Kees, *Newoserre III*, p. 21.

⁷⁵ Jones, *Index I*, p. 49, No. 247.

⁷⁶ Bissing, Kees, *Newoserre III*, pl. 2, 112.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 2, 111.

⁷⁸ *LD II*, pl. 48.

⁷⁹ Posener-Krieger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, pp. 583–584.

⁸⁰ For the attestations of the title in the Old Kingdom (79 title holders) see Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, pp. 140–144. Jones, *Index II*, pp. 603–604, No. 2212.

⁸¹ Junker, *Giza II*, p. 65.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 146, fig. 15 and 147, fig. 16.

⁸³ Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938): 83–91.

⁸⁴ Goedicke, in Allam, ed., *Grund und Boden*, p. 234.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁸⁶ Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, pp. 141–144.

⁸⁷ Moreno Garcia, *Hwt*, pp. 44–48.

⁸⁸ Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 39; *Wb II*, 256.16 – “Diadem” and 17 – “Hüter des Diadems”. Jones, *Index I*, pp. 321–322, No. 1183. For the complete list of the officials see Speidel, *Friseure*, pp. 5–86.

⁸⁹ Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 39; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 42.

⁹⁰ Mariette, *Mastabas*, tomb D 24, p. 250. *PM III*, p. 466.

(reign of Nyuserra or later),⁹¹ Nekhetsas (reign of Nyuserra or later),⁹² Maanefer,⁹³ Kaunesut (late Fourth or Fifth Dynasty)⁹⁴ and Rawer (reign of Neferirkara or later),⁹⁵ Suf, hairdresser of the Great House (Fifth Dynasty or later),⁹⁶ Khnemnefer, overseer of king's hairdressers (Sixth Dynasty).⁹⁷ Even the vizier Ptahshepses (Abusir, reign of Nyuserra) started his career as a holder of this title that was later on taken up by his son Ptahshepses.⁹⁸

From the short overview of its holders it seems to be significant that the title is in the overwhelming number of examples associated with the function of the hairdresser of the king. In many examples the title "keeper of the diadem" occurs in combination with the title "director of the palace": Kaemneferet, Kaunesut, Perneb, Rawer and Ptahshepses; and with the title "director of the king's hairdressers": Kaemneferet, Kaunesut, Khnemnefer, Suf, Rakhefankh, Ankhi and Rawer. In three instances (Kaemneferet, Kaunesut and Rawer) the officials possessed all the three titles.⁹⁹

5) *sm3 Hr*

The title *sm3 Hr* "officiant of Hor"¹⁰⁰ occurs very often in conjunction with the titles of *sm3 Mjn* and *sm3 Jnpw*. Its holders are associated with the dressing of the king.¹⁰¹ According to Helck, the title was originally reserved for the princes who were responsible for the wardrobe of the king. Later on, the title became a ranking title for some officials at the court.¹⁰² Similar evidence comes from the Middle Kingdom when the title is associated with dressing the statue of the god.¹⁰³

The earliest attestation of this title dates to the Third Dynasty and it is incised on the statue of

Nedjemankh (Louvre A 39).¹⁰⁴ The title as such occurs quite sporadically during the Old Kingdom and it is otherwise attested for instance by Kanenesut (I) from the early Fifth Dynasty at Giza (G 2155, West Field)¹⁰⁵ and by Iziankh, on his false door (BM 1383)¹⁰⁶ from the Fifth Dynasty. Among its possessors was also the vizier Mereruka.¹⁰⁷ Results from McFarlane's statistics show that it occurs throughout the period of the Second – Tenth Dynasties and that there were altogether eight holders of this title during the given period.¹⁰⁸

6) *hm-ntr W3dt*

The title "priest of the goddess Wadjet" occurs exclusively in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.¹⁰⁹ The title is closely associated with the title of "priest of the goddess Nekhbet". Both titles probably refer to the officials who were appointed with the office of "keepers" of the Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns in the palace of the king.¹¹⁰ The first attested holders of this title are probably Kaunesut at Giza¹¹¹ (dated to the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty¹¹²) and the vizier Washptah (reign of Neferirkara¹¹³).

Later on, however, it occurred in the titularies of the hairdressers. Helck's hypothesis,¹¹⁴ namely that the title is related to the title of the hairdresser of the king, does not have overall validity since there are known several holders of the titles pertaining exclusively to the hairdressing of the king (overseers and inspectors of the king's hairdressers or simple hairdressers) like Kaemneferet and Nefer, Khnemnefer, Suf and Rakhefankh who do not possess the title "priest of the goddess Wadjet (see above)." And *vice versa*, there are also "priests of Nekhbet (or Wadjet)" who are not associated with the office of the hairdressing of the king – Merery, Setju and Ptahshepses.

⁹¹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, tomb D 42, pp. 294–295. *PM* III, p. 453.

⁹² Mariette, *Mastabas*, tomb D 67, p. 366.

⁹³ *LD* II, pl. 65.

⁹⁴ Hassan, *Giza* II, p. 75; *PM* III, p. 274.

⁹⁵ Hassan, *Giza* II, pp. 2–3; *PM* III, p. 265.

⁹⁶ Hassan, *Giza* V, p. 257; 259, fig. 116. *PM* III, p. 253.

⁹⁷ Junker, *Giza* X, pp. 110–111.; *PM* III, p. 217.

⁹⁸ Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pp. 125–131.

⁹⁹ See Speidel, *Friseure*, pp. 126–136.

¹⁰⁰ For the reading of this title as *sm3* see Schäfer, *Mysterien des Osiris*, p. 20; Montet, *JNES* 9 (1950): 18–23, espec. 20; Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943): 357–366; Fischer, *The Coptite Nome*, pp. 36–37. Junker, *Giza* II, p. 159 was reading the title as *wb3 Hr*. See also Fischer, *The Coptite Nome*, pp. 36–37 – "officiant of Min". Jones, *Index* II, p. 889, No. 3255.

¹⁰¹ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 45.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁰³ Schäfer, *Mysterien des Osiris*, pp. 18–20.

¹⁰⁴ Weill, *Ile et Ile Dynasties*, pp. 181–182; pl. II. For a thorough analysis of this and associated titles see McFarlane, *GM* 121 (1991): 77–100 (the Fourth Dynasty: 1, the Fifth Dynasty: 3, the Sixth Dynasty: 3) and *idem*, *God Min*, p. 230.

¹⁰⁵ Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 18; *PM* III, p. 78.

¹⁰⁶ James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 19.

¹⁰⁷ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁸ McFarlane, *GM* 121 (1991): 100.

¹⁰⁹ Jones, *Index* I, p. 508, No. 1901.

¹¹⁰ For Wadjet and her association with the royal crown see now Lesko, *Great Goddesses*, pp. 71–75.

¹¹¹ Hassan, *Giza* II, p. 75.

¹¹² *PM* III, p. 274.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

¹¹⁴ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 42.

At the end of the Fifth and during the Sixth Dynasty, “priests of Nekhbet (Wadjet)” could plausibly alternate with the title *(j)m(j)-r jzwj n hkr̥t nswt* “overseer of the two *jz*-chambers of the king’s adorners” which is among other titles associated with the king’s servants. This very title is conspicuous for its duality. There is with one exception known to me, no other attestation of this title in combination with the titles “priest of the Wadjet/or Nekhbet” (see Ptahshepses¹¹⁵ of the Fifth Dynasty or Merery¹¹⁶ of the Sixth Dynasty). This exception to the rule is the vizier Meryteti from the reign of Pepy I.¹¹⁷ He held (beside the title of “overseer of the two *jz*-chambers of the king’s adorners”) the title “priest of the goddess Nekhbet”.¹¹⁸

A clear distinction between the titles relating to the diadem and the Egyptian crowns on one side and the royal ornaments on the other side must be made. The example of Nimaatptah *(j)r(j)-nfr-hst, hr(j) sšt3 hkr̥t nswt m St-jb-R^c Nfr-k3-R^c)* indicates that there might exist other important ornaments relating to the king that had been kept in the temples.¹¹⁹ It seems also very probable that despite the denotation of the holders of the titles “priest of the goddess Nekhbet/or Wadjet” as *hm-ntr*, these two titles were in fact of a rather profane nature. Their priest-like designation is probably due to the fact that the titles referred to the two crowns which were associated with the two principal goddesses of national importance for the Ancient Egyptians.

7) *hrp hwwt (Nt)*

The title “inspector of the workshops/domains (of the Red crown)”¹²⁰ refers to royal installations which were probably situated either directly within the compound of the royal palace or in its close vicinity and were related directly to the king.¹²¹ Junker understands it as a title referring to the workshops where the king’s ornaments along with the Lower Egyptian crown were made.¹²² We lack any indication as to what the nature of these installations were like. It can be therefore only specu-

lated whether they were designed to meet the needs and demands of the royal family with the person of the king at the head or, to provide a kind of material support for the several tightly bound offices (see below) and thus to maintain their common running. This title, in conjunction with the title of *hm-ntr W3dt* might be interpreted as office holders who were responsible for having charge of the Lower Egyptian crown (associated with the goddess Wadjet) and the administration of the corresponding domains (referred to by the latter title). The Old Kingdom titles which are in most instances associated with the title *hrp hwwt(Nt)* are as follows:¹²³ *hrp šndjt*, *(j)m(j)-jz, hm ntr W3dt, hr(j)-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hr(j)-wdb m hwt-^cnh*. By far the most frequently recurring title is that of *hrp šndjt* (8 out of 12 of the holders). This evidence indicates that the title can be associated with those belonging to the circle of royal servants or officials who were in charge of the king’s wardrobe, crowns, ornaments and the like.

Moreover, it seems plausible that the domains of the Red Crown referred to installations/workshops that were founded and specially designed to provide sufficient means for the upkeep of the above offices.

8) *hrp-^ch*

The title “inspector of the palace” is known from the First Dynasty onwards.¹²⁴ The chronological distribution of the Old Kingdom holders (45 in all) of the title shows its increasing frequency during the Fourth Dynasty (13), with the majority of its holders dated from the Fifth Dynasty (30).¹²⁵ The beginning of the Sixth Dynasty represents a sharp break in comparison with the previous period and is marked by the title’s sudden disappearance (only 1 attestation).

There was a major difference in rank between its holders during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. The inspectors of the palace during the Fourth Dynasty belonged to the élite of society. They usually hold titles like *(j)r(j)-p^ct, h3tj-^c* and *t3tj t3tj (n) z3b*. Later on, during the Fifth Dynasty the holders of the title were usually associated with the offices and titles of lesser importance. During this period titles of the middle and lower ranking officials prevail. Among those most frequently attested during the Fifth Dynasty are *smr* and *smr w^ctj*,

¹¹⁵ Verner, *Ptahshepses*, p. 34 (Inscr. 30), 124.

¹¹⁶ *Saqqāra Tombs I*, pls. 9–10.

¹¹⁷ *PM III*, p. 536.

¹¹⁸ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 97.

¹¹⁹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 24, p. 250.

¹²⁰ Jelínková, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 321ff. Jones, *Index II*, pp. 727–728, No. 2646.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 326–327.

¹²² Junker, *Giza V*, pp. 13–14.

¹²³ For the list of officials holding the title of *hrp hwwt* see Jelínková, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 339–362.

¹²⁴ Jones, *Index II*, p. 707, No. 2579; Bárta, *ArOr* 67 (1999): 1ff.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3–9; 10–11 – tab. 1.

hr(j)-hb, hr(j)-hb hr(j)-tp, ḏ-mr Dw3 Hr hnt(j) pt, hr(j)-sšt3, hr(j)-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hr(j)-tp Nhb, hr(j)-wdb m hwt-ḥh, (j)r(j)-nfr-h3t. The title inspector of the palace disappears at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty – probably in connection with some bureaucratic development in the state at the end of the Old Kingdom.¹²⁶

9) *R^c-htp(w)*

The theophorous names connected with the god Ra have been found already during the Second Dynasty.¹²⁷ This name appears for the first time for an official in the tomb of Rahotep at Meidum from the early Fourth Dynasty.¹²⁸ From then on, the name of Rahotep¹²⁹ is quite frequent among proper names, and is well-attested during the Old Kingdom period.¹³⁰

3.3.3.3 *Rahotep (II), the son of Rahotep*

1) *w^cb*

The title “*wab* (priest)”¹³¹ shows that Rahotep was associated with a funerary service which, given the location of the tomb, probably belonged to the kings at Abusir. The activity of the *wab* priests (in fact a sort of auxiliary service) in the temples is only fragmentarily documented.¹³² Roth was also able to show that the *wab* priests could serve in more than one mortuary cult at once.¹³³

2) *hr(j)-sšt3 n mdw ntr*

“Privy to the secret(s) of the god’s words.”¹³⁴ The attestations of this title were collected by Rydström. According to his evidence (there are known altogether 13 Old Kingdom holders of this title),¹³⁵ it seems likely that these officials were

connected with the service for the living king at the court. Nevertheless, his table shows that at least five holders of the title held titles related to the priesthood in the mortuary complexes of the kings and in the sun sanctuaries (Nos. 31 and 103 – the Fifth Dynasty, 135, 153 and 168 – the Sixth Dynasty).¹³⁶

3.4 *Tomb 3 – Tomb of Fetekty and Mety*

3.4.1 *State before excavation*

The tomb of Fetekty has been known since Lepsius’ 1843 excavation that uncovered the tomb’s entrance and the court decorated with paintings on plaster. Since then the decoration has faded away so that the documentation by Lepsius is our only source of information (figs. 3.9 – 3.11, pls. LXXXI–LXXXIII). The (altogether three) water-colour drawings of the tomb decoration were made by Joseph Bonomi, Johann Jakob Frey and Max Weidenbach (pls. LXXXI – LXXXIII).¹³⁷ It is because of this and the striking spectrum of themes depicted on the walls of the tomb, that it could be of some use to reproduce here the report on the tomb given by Lepsius himself (see fig. 3.9).¹³⁸

All that Lepsius published in detail were the coloured drawings of the painted scenes he came across in the pillared court. From this it is clear that originally all the walls had been decorated with beautiful frescoes painted on plaster. The tomb decoration documented by the Lepsius expedition was limited to the following elements:

- west wall;
- east wall of the court, south of the entrance;
- half-pillar abutting on the north wall of the court;
- central pillar;
- north wall, to the east and west of the half pillar;
- entrance into the corridor chapel (jambs);
- corridor leading into the corridor chapel.

The decoration was painted on a light blue-grey wash covering a thick coat of yellow-brown muddy plaster mixed with vegetable fibre. The decoration started about 1 m above the floor below which were documented remains of a yellow painted band. This band was probably part of

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 12–17.

¹²⁷ Ranke, *Personennamen* II, 229.

¹²⁸ Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 9–10; 12–13; 15.

¹²⁹ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 219.15 – “Re ist gnädig.”

¹³⁰ See, for instance, statues CG 3, 127, 130, 172 and tombs D 9 in the West Field of Giza from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty (*PM* III, p. 109; G 4241 in the West Field at Giza of the Fifth Dynasty (*PM* III, p. 125; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, pp. 253–254, #18); tomb in Giza of the middle Fifth Dynasty or later (Hassan, *Giza* VII, pp. 81–84; *PM* III, p. 241); D 35 at Saqqara from the Fifth Dynasty (Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 263–264; *PM* III, p. 457); C 24 at Saqqara from the Fifth Dynasty (Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 157–9; *PM* III, p. 480); C 12 from the middle of the Fifth Dynasty or later (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 135; *PM* III, p. 690).

¹³¹ Jones, *Index* I, p. 368, No. 1360.

¹³² Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, pp. 581–582.

¹³³ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, p. 83.

¹³⁴ Jones, *Index* II, p. 622, No. 2281.

¹³⁵ Rydström, *DE* 28 (1994): 74.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 86–91.

¹³⁷ Archiv des Wörterbuchs der Ägyptischen Sprache, Inv. No. 394, 47.8 × 59.5 cm (*LD* II, pl. 96 – pillar, half-pillar), Inv. No. 395, 47.5 × 58.7 cm (*LD* II, pl. 96, western part of the northern wall, *LD* Ergänz., pl. 40 – west wall) and Inv. No. 396, 47.9 × 59.1 cm (*LD* II, pl. 96 – eastern wall).

¹³⁸ *LD* Text, pp. 139–141.

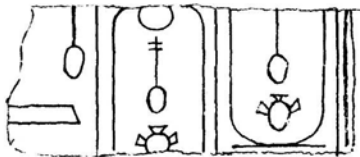
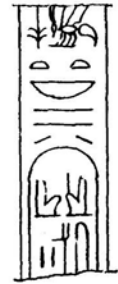
Fol. I 225. 12^o III 199. M.W. 18. 19. 21. Z. 429. 430.

Abusir. Verbaut. Gräberfeld. 1.

Stein mit Hieroglyphen (in einzigartigem Stile):¹⁾
Säule im Stil

der Ptolemäerzeit (a)

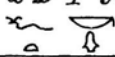
a



[Andere Steine, nach Max Weidenbach's Not. B. 18. 19. 21]:

Gräberfeld von Abusir und Sakkarä.

Situationsplan: L D I 32-33.

1. Grab des .

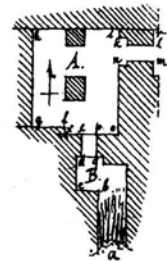
Dieses Grab liegt sehr entfernt von dem Felde von Sakkarä nach Norden, jenseit des Thaies, das zwischen den Feldern von Sakkarä und Abusir liegt, also vielmehr am südlichen Abhange des Feldes von Abusir, doch noch immer ca. $\frac{1}{4}$ Stunde oder mehr von den Pyramiden von Abusir entfernt. Es liegen noch andere Gräber drum herum.

Der Eingang von a ist noch verschüttet.

Die Bauart hat viel eigentümliches. Die Mauer fg ist nach Süden zu geneigt, sodass jeder untere Stein etwas, nur ca. 1 oder $\frac{1}{2}$ Zoll, vor

¹⁾ Mehr. einzelner Stil.

Grundriss
(s. die Aufnahme L D I 38)



L D I
32. 33.

L D I
38.

Fig. 3.9 – Reproduction of the Lepsius' report on the tomb of Fetekty (LD Text, pp. 139–141)

Abusir-Sakkara. Gräberfeld. 1.

Fol. I 225-227.

dem darüber liegenden vorsteht. Sie läuft über *g h* hin fort und die Mauer *g h* ist an sie angebaut. Ganz ebenso neigt sich gegenüber die Mauer *h i* nach Norden oben über, läuft über *h* und auch über *i* hinaus hinter *k l* fort und tritt bei *r* wieder vor; *g h* und *h i* lehnen sich daran an. Die Mauer *e x* ist wie alle übrigen Mauern des ganzen Grabes senkrecht und läuft noch ein Stückchen hinter *f g* fort, sodaß *f g* an dieser Stelle nur wenige Zoll dick ist. Uebrigens sind alle Wände mit kleinen schlechten Steinen gebaut, die nur nach innen¹⁾ eine gerade Fläche darbieten, die mit einem dicken Lehmüberzug bekleidet ist, auf dem dann eine Kalklage liegt, die gemalt wurde. Das ganze Grab ist daher nur gemalt, mit Ausnahme allein des Wulstes über der Thüre *d q*, der mit vertieften Hieroglyphen beschrieben ist. Hinter den dünnen Steinwänden liegen stärkere Sand- und Lehmziegel von großer Festigkeit.

Der Haupteingang des ganzen Grabes muß von Osten bei *m l* gewesen sein, obgleich hier der Architrav²⁾ nicht erhalten ist; das geht daraus hervor, daß der Architrav²⁾ über *d q* (s. unten) seine Inschrift nach Norden kehrt, und man folglich durch den Pfeilerraum (A) nach dem südlichen Raume (B) ging. Der Eingang bei *m l* hat seine Bekleidung verloren.

Der Pfeilerraum A ist von uns gezeichnet und gemalt worden, soviel von der sehr gebrechlichen Lehmkruste noch erhalten war.

LD II 96. Der Pfeiler in der Mitte und der Halbpfeiler, der sich an die Nordwand anlehnt, sind ganz gemalt: LD II 96.

Der Steinbau der Wände gehört zu den schlechtesten. In den Zeichnungen stellt die rote Linie die Ecken des Zimmers vor. Die Randverzierung geteilt wird, ist zur einen Hälfte auf der einen, zur

, welche durch diese rote Linie andern auf der andern Wand.

LD II 96 = Ergänzungsband
Ergänzungsband ebendas C.
schon LD II 96 publ.)

Ergänzungsband ebendas B;
Ergänzungsband ebendas H
f g: Ergänzungsband eben-



Erg. XL. Nordseite, westlicher Teil (links vom Halbpfeiler):

Taf. XL E; östlicher Teil (rechts vom Halbpfeiler):

Westseite (*g h*): Ergänzungsband ebendas D (z. F.)

Südseite, östlicher Teil (links von der Thüre) o p:

mittlerer Teil (rechts von der Thüre) *e x*:

(wo *x e* statt *k e* zu lesen ist); westlicher Teil
daselbst F.

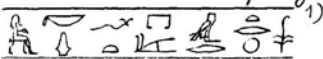
1) d. h. wohl nach dem Raum A. 2) gemeint ist der Thürbalken.

Fol. I 226/1. 12° III 103. 126. 199. Inv. V 324-328. 7. 429. **Abusir-Sakkara. Gräberfeld 1-4.**

Die kleine westliche Wand αf hat eine eigentümliche Verzierung, von der ich eine Probe mitgenommen habe [die aber in Berlin nicht mehr aufzufinden ist.] LD II 96 unten links = Ergänzungsband Taf. XL G. (wo statt $k f$ wieder αf zu lesen ist).

Ostseite: LD II 96.

Über der Thüre $d g$ liegt ein Thürbalken mit Titeln und Namen des Verstorbenen:



In dem Durchgange nach dem südlichen Raume (B) ist auf der W. Seite eine kolossale Granitstatue sitzend dargestellt, vor welcher geopfert wird. Der Raum selbst ist zu zerstört, um etwas Vollständiges zu bilden. Es kommen aber darin zwei Käfige über einander vor, in die gelbe Vögel Σ wie Sperlinge mit schwarzem Schwanz und Flügelspitzen gesteckt werden. Ihr Name daneben scheint $\Sigma \sigma \tau$ zu sein. Auch sind auf der W. Seite noch zwei kurzgeschürzte Frauen zu sehen.

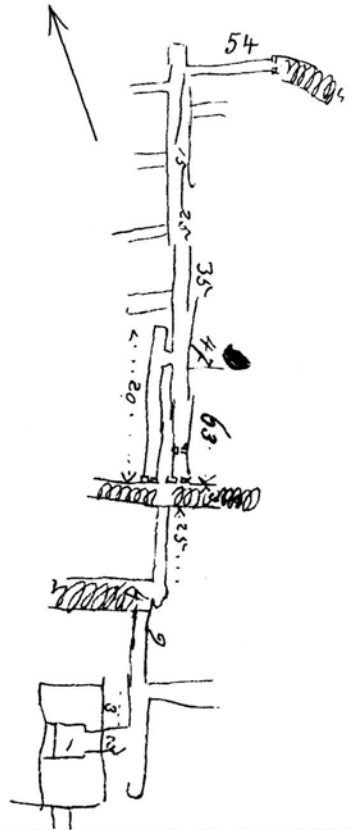
2. 3. Zwei Ochsengräber.

[Über diese findet sich weiter keine Bemerkung bei Lepsius.]

4. Ibisgrab.²⁾

[Den Plan dieses Grabes stellt vielleicht die folgende flüchtige Skizze dar, die sich ohne weitere Bemerkung in Lepsius' Notizbuch 12° III 103 findet.]

Aus dem großen Ibisgrabe von Sakkara sind sechs Vasen mit Ibismumien jetzt in Berlin No. 1428-1433; fünf davon haben die gewöhnliche Form: LD II 153 Fig. 29,³⁾ die sechste (No. 1430) hat eine etwas abweichende: ebendas. Fig. 32.³⁾ Die Vasen aus rotem Thon stammen aus der vordersten Kammer des Grabes, die beiden (No. 1429. 1433), welche sich durch ihre sehr viel hellere Farbe von den übrigen merklich unterscheiden, aus der hintersten Kammer.



1) nach 12° III 199 und 7. 429. — 2) vgl. Descr. de l'Ég., Antiquités No. V, pl. 1. pl. 4 Fig. 2-7, u. Vol. II, pl. 52, Fig. 1-6. — 3) Der Maßstab der Zeichnung ist 1:5. In der Publ. ist 1 Fuß statt $\frac{1}{2}$ Fuß zu lesen.

LD II
96.
Erg. XL.

LD II
96.

LD II
153, 29.

LD II
153, 32.

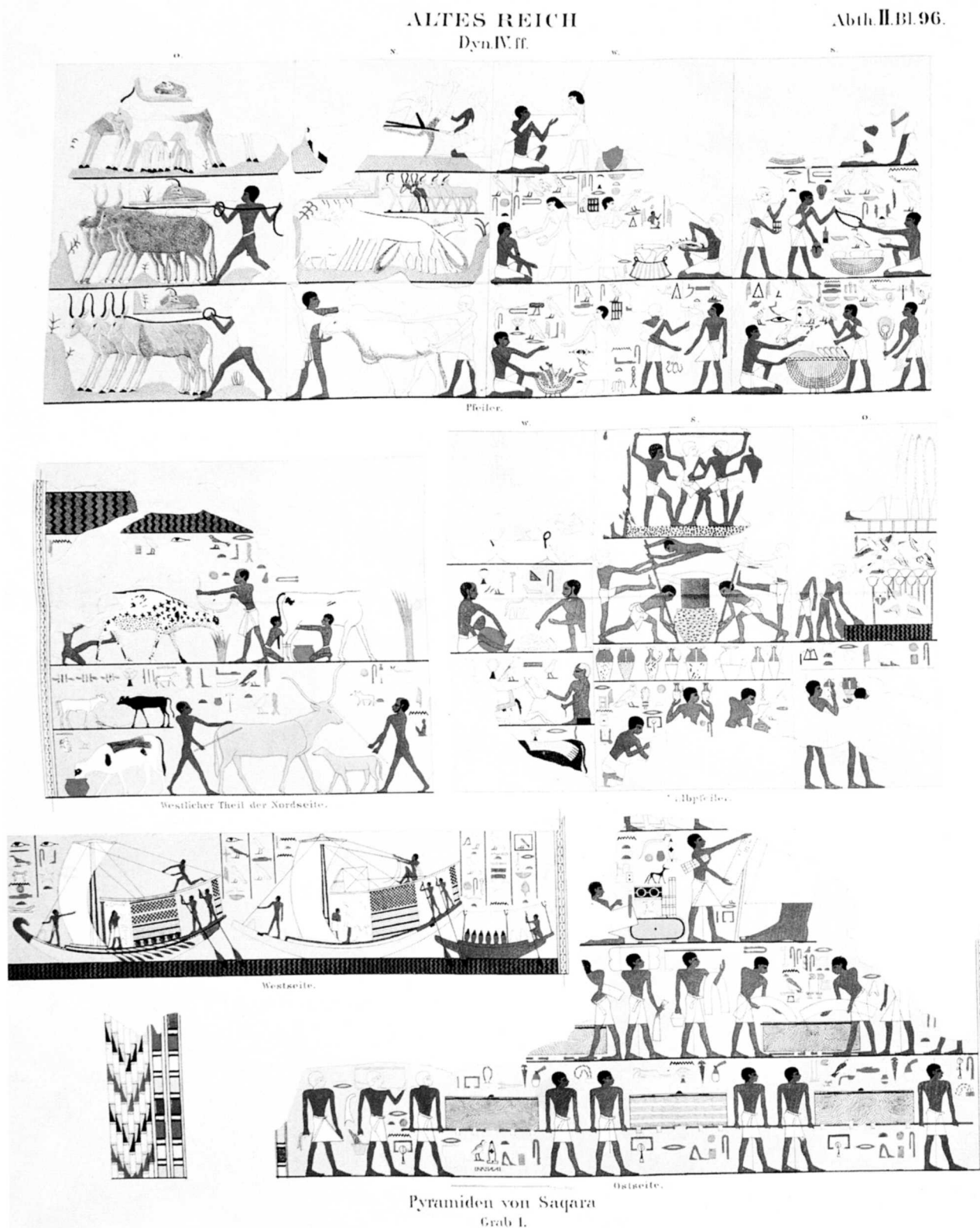


Fig. 3.10 – Reproduction of the Lepsius' documentation of the decoration in the tomb of Fetekty (LD II, pl. 96)

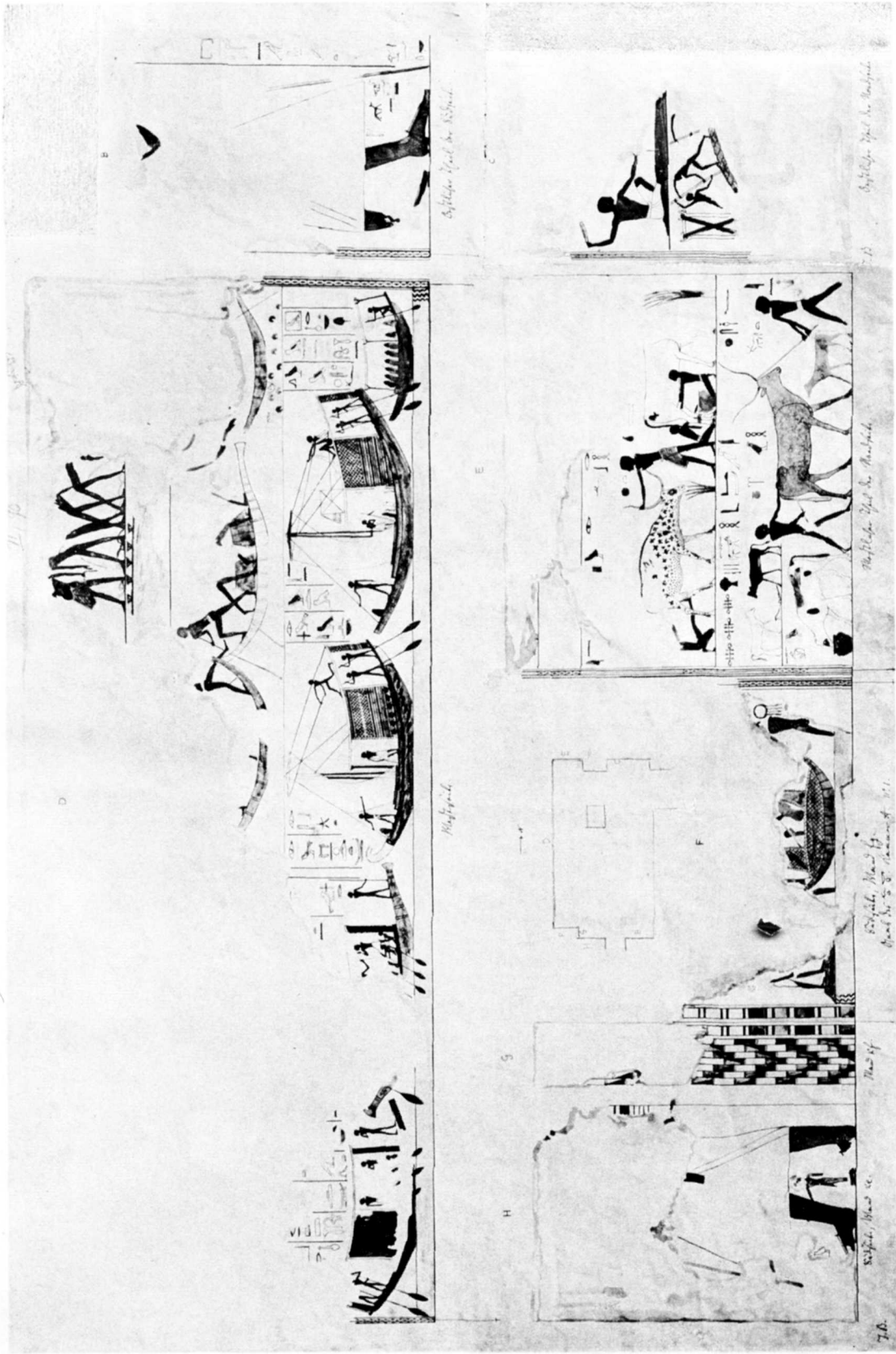


Fig. 3.11 – Reproduction of the Lepsius' documentation of the decoration in the tomb of Fetekty (LD Ergänz., pl. 40)

the original dado of black, yellow and red bands (starting at the base of the wall with black and ending with red).¹³⁹ In most cases, the width of the yellow and red bands was about 10 cm (each).¹⁴⁰ The decoration was framed in several instances on the sides (in the room corners) by a narrow band of “Kettenmuster” which consisted of a single vertical line with the motif of a chain painted black on a white background and with a red vertical line running through the centre of the chain, the whole band being about 5 cm in thickness (court: western end of the western part of the north wall, northern and southern end of the west wall, southern side of the east wall and the eastern end of the east jamb of the entrance into the chapel).¹⁴¹

Another pattern used in the wall decoration was the application of a ladder pattern (“Farbenleiter”) which consisted of a vertical band (4–5 cm in thickness) outlined in black and divided into narrow horizontal fields filled with yellow, blue and red colours separated by the fields of white (court: northern end of the east wall south of the entrance, eastern end of the south wall west of the entrance into the chapel, western end of the west jamb of the entrance into the chapel).¹⁴² Finally, a third geometrical pattern was applied to one section of the south wall in the court of Fetekty.¹⁴³ On the right of this section of the wall was a vertical band of the ladder pattern. The rest of the space was taken up by seven vertical bands divided into individual fields also arranged vertically into a “V” pattern. These fields were either filled in with white colour or cut diagonally into two parts that were filled with combination of yellow – red or yellow – black.

Prior to the excavation report, the discussion of the individual motifs of decoration in the pillared court as seen by Lepsius will be offered. The measurements given below were calculated according to the size of individual walls as found during the tomb excavation. These were then transferred to the documentation by Lepsius – in many cases giving an inexact record.

3.4.1.1 Decoration of the pillared court

3.4.1.1.1 West wall (fig. 3.12)¹⁴⁴

The decoration of this wall consisted originally of three registers, at least, but only the lowermost one is well preserved. The remaining two registers have suffered intensively from deterioration so that only a tentative reconstruction of the motifs once depicted on the walls is possible. The estimated dimensions of the paintings situated on this wall are as follows: the length of the registers about 2.90 m and their height 0.32–0.43 m. The scene originally encompassed the whole length of the west wall. These scenes, together with all others in the tomb of Fetekty, start approximately at a height of 1.05 m above the floor level.

The lowermost, best preserved register depicts travelling by boats and it is composed of two, slightly asymmetrical parts.¹⁴⁵ Its height is 0.36 m. The northern portion depicts a row of two larger sailing boats followed by a smaller vessel laden with sealed beer jars. This section is well preserved and the accompanying inscriptions are almost complete. The southern portion of the register depicts another two sailing boats proceeding against the first group, e.g. to the north. This section is not so well preserved and the accompanying inscriptions are partly damaged as well.

Above this register, in the northern section of the wall, there were at the time of the Lepsius’ discovery visible remains of two, much destroyed, superimposed registers. The middle register depicted fishermen’ fights. The uppermost register shows fishermen with the seine. The estimated height of the middle register was about 0.32 m and that of the uppermost preserved register about 0.43 m. Thus the whole height of the preserved decoration on this wall can be estimated at about 1.11 m.

Lowermost register

Sailing ships of the northern group (“Die Fahrt zum Schönen Westen in zwei Segelschiffen”).¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ See, for instance, Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery I*, p. 23, pls. 6–7.

¹⁴⁰ Compare Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 29.

¹⁴¹ See Vandier, *Manuel IV*, p. 44, fig. 12; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 30. *LD II*, pl. 96; *LD Ergänzt.*, pl. 40 and *LD Text*, p. 140.

¹⁴² See Vandier, *Manuel IV*, p. 41–45; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 29, pls. 97–99, 102–104. *LD II*, pl. 96; *LD Ergänzt.*, pl. 40.

¹⁴³ Wall x-f – *LD Text*, plan on p. 139. For the pattern see *ibid.*, p. 141, *LD II*, pl. 96 and *LD Ergänzt.*, pl. 40.

¹⁴⁴ Previous publications of this scene can be found in: *LD II*, pl. 96 (Saqqara, Grab 1); *LD Ergänzt.*, pl. 40; Boreaux, *Études Nautique*, p. 267, fig. 83; 383, fig. 156.

¹⁴⁵ Erman, *Reden*, pp. 53–57; Montet, *Scènes de la vie*, pp. 346–356; Junker, *Giza IV*, pp. 51–63.

¹⁴⁶ See Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pp. 85–86; pl. 25 – Torraum, Nordwand, Sz.11.5 and Altenmüller, *SAK 28* (2000): 7–8.

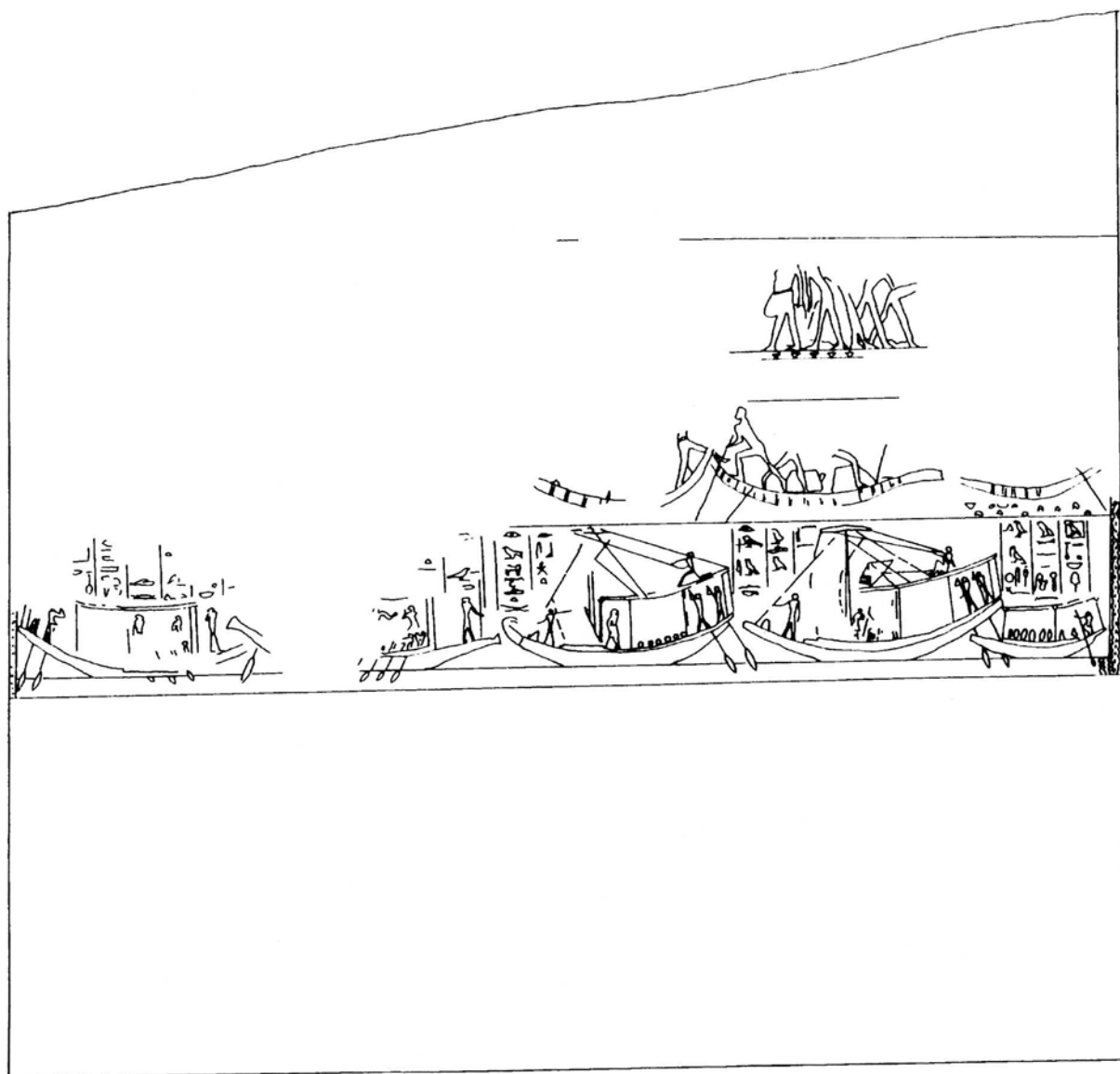


Fig. 3.12 – A simplified reconstruction of the original west wall decoration

0 10 50
cm

Comparable relevant scenes may be as follows:

- the tomb of Pehenuika,¹⁴⁷ middle Fifth Dynasty or later,¹⁴⁸ Saqqara;
- the tomb of Merib,¹⁴⁹ the early Fifth Dynasty, Giza – ship with the hedgehog prow;
- the tomb of Seshemnefer (I),¹⁵⁰ the reign of Sahura or Neferirkara,¹⁵¹ Giza – the leading ship with a hedgehog prow;
- the tomb of Khuwiwer,¹⁵² end of the Fifth Dynasty¹⁵³, Giza;

– the tomb of Kaiemankh,¹⁵⁴ the Sixth Dynasty, Giza.¹⁵⁵

The ships in the northern group are accompanied with three related groups of inscriptions arranged in two, three and three columns, respectively, and reading from the left to the right. The boats are oriented from the right to the left, e.g. heading south. The first two boats represent typical examples of travelling ships used mainly by princes and officials.¹⁵⁶ They proceed with full sails and differ only in minute details of their construction.

¹⁴⁷ LD II, pl. 45a–b.

¹⁴⁸ PM III, p. 491.

¹⁴⁹ LD II, pl. 22d.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

¹⁵¹ PM III, p. 142.

¹⁵² LD II, pl. 43 a.

¹⁵³ PM III, p. 254.

¹⁵⁴ Junker, *Giza IV*, pls. 3–5 and 7.

¹⁵⁵ PM III, p. 131.

¹⁵⁶ Landström, *Ships of the pharaohs*, p. 35; Jones, *Boats*, pp. 36–40.

Boats of this type, together with some others, were built of papyrus.¹⁵⁷ Both boats here have the lifted prow and stern and are equipped with quite typical bipod masts and full sail. In the case of the first boat there is a transverse lath which improved the stability of the mast.¹⁵⁸ The boat is propelled by nine rudders (the heads of only the first six are visible).¹⁵⁹ The back part of the boat is protected by a cabin of flimsy construction which is supported by four poles. The central part of the construction is covered by cloth matting with geometrical motifs. On the stern of the boat, still protected by the cabin, there are two helmsmen standing with steering oars in their hands. At the centre of the first boat, Fetekty is depicted standing, looking back as if he were controlling the sailors in the boat. He is leaning against a long staff and wearing a kilt reaching to his knees. The accompanying inscription above and behind the standing figure of Fetekty reads as follows:¹⁶⁰



(j)r(j)-[(j)ht] nswt, Ftk[tj]

[jw(t) m] hf(3)wt r t3, Jfj

“[Property] custodian of the king, Fetekty
[coming in] a humble way(1) to land (by) Ify (2).”

1) The verb *hf3t* is attested by Wörterbuch only from the Middle Kingdom onwards and occurs

in expressions like  *jw m hf3t* “in demütiger (knieender) Haltung kommen”.¹⁶¹

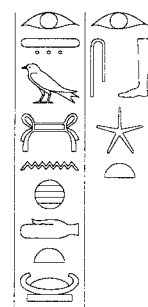
2) The name  sometimes written as  occurs as a name as early as the Fourth¹⁶² and during the Fifth Dynasty, the majority of examples, however, date to the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁶³ It is perhaps a beautiful name for Fetekty.

On the prow of both boats stands a pilot with outstretched arms who is responsible for the navigation and safe sailing of the vessel. The prow of the first boat is decorated with a hedgehog head

turned backwards with a protective function (see *Remark 6*).¹⁶⁴ In addition to this, there is an object that could be something like a stone anchor.¹⁶⁵ On the second boat, protected by the roof construction of the cabin, there is a seated person – Fetekty with a servant in a bent attitude in front of him. Fetekty is wearing a pointed kilt and holding a staff. On the top of both boat cabins made of matting there is a man (depicted in a standing and seated attitude, respectively) handling the braces.¹⁶⁶ Next to the seated man on the roof of the second boat there is a portable sunshade of a typical Old Kingdom construction, with a pair of diagonally criss-crossed sticks and a vertical pole attached to them at the point of their intersection.¹⁶⁷ There is an end-cloth hanging loosely on one end.¹⁶⁸

The combination of sail with the rows such as those on the first boat of Fetekty occurs from the late Fifth Dynasty onwards (see for instance the tomb of Pehenuika).¹⁶⁹

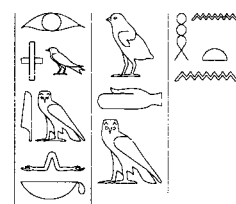
Inscription related to the first boat:



*jr(j) (r) t3-wr n hdt. Jr(j) sb3t*¹⁷⁰

“Make towards the larboard (east)!¹⁷¹ Keep steady in direction!”¹⁷²

Inscription related to the second boat:



jr(j) jmj-wr(t). Jm.k wd(j) m hnt.n

¹⁵⁷ Boreaux, *Études Nautiques*, p. 236ff.; 251; 263.

¹⁵⁸ See Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 42. See p. 43, fig. 118a – 40 and fig. 167; 44–45, figs. 119–121 for various details of the construction of the mast.

¹⁵⁹ The number of the rudders in the boat corresponds exactly with the number of the rudders from the tomb of Mersyankh (III)–Simpson, Dunham, *Giza Mastabas* 1, p. 12; pl. 3b and 5a; fig. 5.

¹⁶⁰ The inscription in black ink may be seen only in LD II, pl. 96.

¹⁶¹ Wb III, 73.13.

¹⁶² James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I², pl. 14, No. 130.

¹⁶³ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 17.6 and 24.22; LD II, pl. 28; the tomb of Seshemnefer called Ifi, Hassan, *Giza* VII, p. 59, fig. 49; Seshemnefer called Ifi, PM III, p. 250; Seshemnefer called Ifi, *ibid.*, p. 345.

¹⁶⁴ According to Cherpion, the latest attestation of these ships is dated into the reign of Nyusera – a dating which clearly contradicts the above evidence. For the corrected date see Seidlmayer, in Müller, Zimmermann, *Archäologie und Korrespondenzanalyse*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁵ Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 65–66. For a similar object see the tomb of Kaiemankh – Junker, *Giza* IV, pls. 3, 4 and 7.

[jw t m h] d(t) r zšš w3d [n Hwt-Hr] nfrt, [nb(t) nht]
 “Coming downstream to pull papyrus for perfect Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore.”

The interpretation of these scenes has been outlined by Harpur.¹⁸⁶ Her interpretation was based on two inscriptions on the extreme right and left of the register. These inscriptions indicate that the boats symbolise two stages in a journey by boats on the Nile. The two rowing boats on the left are heading to the north in order to perform the pulling of “papyrus for perfect Hathor” whereas the three boats on the north (two of them with a sail) are depicted at the moment of their return back southwards “after pulling papyrus for perfect Hathor.” The explanation is provided by the first sailing ship with the hedgehog head. Altenmüller was able to show that such ships (“Segelschiffe mit Igelkopfbug”¹⁸⁷) were associated with the resurrection rites. According to him, the sailing hedgehog ships would have been associated with the journey by night and the rowing ships with the journey by day. In both cases the main destination of the journey is given as “field of offerings” and the “beautiful west”. It must be noted, however, that in the tomb of Fetekty it is the sailing hedgehog boat in the northern group that allows such an interpretation.¹⁸⁸ The whole scene in the tomb of Fetekty is enlarged by the ritual of zšš w3d.

The ritual of pulling papyrus (“Papyrusrupfen für Hathor”) occurs in tomb decoration from the late Fourth Dynasty onwards.¹⁸⁹ The different individual contexts of these scenes were gathered and classified by Harpur¹⁹⁰ and are as follows:

1. Figure on a skiff against a background of papyrus aiming (?) a stem or throwstick while holding a stem from the thicket.
2. Figure on a skiff next to the thicket, pulling papyrus.
3. Figure on a skiff against a background of papyrus, holding up stems.

The fourth variant would have been represented only by the scene from the tomb of Fetekty but this seems highly improbable. The examples enu-

merated by Harpur¹⁹¹ allow us to draw the following observations regarding the scene:

- a) most of the tomb holders where a papyrus pulling scene occurs were of a higher social rank;
- b) the context of the accompanying scenes associated with the zšš w3d scene is unique in the tomb of Fetekty, since these scenes always appear separately, though sometimes the scene is associated with the depiction of the funerary journey by boat to the cemetery.¹⁹² The overall meaning of the scene must be sought within the field of resurrection rites of the ancient Egyptians where papyrus thicket (especially in the marshy region of Delta where Osiris was resurrected) and the idea of rebirth played an important part. In this connection, it is probably no coincidence that both motifs (zšš w3d and the hedgehog boats) start to appear simultaneously during the late Fourth Dynasty. One of the earliest attestations is probably represented in the tomb of Mersyankh (III) at Giza.¹⁹³

Second register

This register depicts fishermen fights with three papyrus skiffs being visible.¹⁹⁴ Three men are still identifiable standing on the middle boat. The boat is loaded with two sacks for fish. The man at the extreme left faces to the left and is engaged in a fight with a boatman standing on the prow of the leftmost boat.

Third register

The uppermost register shows four preserved fishermen dragging the seine net (with a supervisor on the left).¹⁹⁵ Several of the floaters attached to the upper line of the seine are still visible.

3.4.1.1.2 East wall (fig. 3.13)¹⁹⁶

There are altogether three horizontal registers preserved on this wall and only a very small section of the fourth, uppermost one. The best and almost completely preserved register is the lowermost

¹⁸⁶ Harpur, *GM* 38 (1980): 58–59.

¹⁸⁷ Altenmüller, *SAK* 28 (2000): 4–9.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 19–27.

¹⁸⁹ Vandier, *Manuel* IV, pp. 738–746; Harpur, *GM* 38 (1980); Altenmüller, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*. For the comprehensive discussion of the scene in different contexts see Munro, *Unas Friedhof* I, pp. 95–136.

¹⁹⁰ Harpur, *GM* 38 (1980): 53.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁹³ Dunham, Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 1, figs. 4–5.

¹⁹⁴ For the papyrus skiffs see Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 56–59 and Jones, *Boats*, pp. 44–45. For the boat games see Vandier, *Manuel* V, pp. 510–531 and further, for instance, Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 10, 11, 15; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pls. 9a, 11, 12a–b, D; *idem*, *Kayemnofret*, p. 19, fig. 16, pls. 23a–b; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas* 5, fig. 40 (G 6020 – Iymeri).

¹⁹⁵ Brewer, Friedman, *Fish and fishing*, pp. 42–46; figs. 2.32–2.42.

¹⁹⁶ *LD* II, pl. 96.

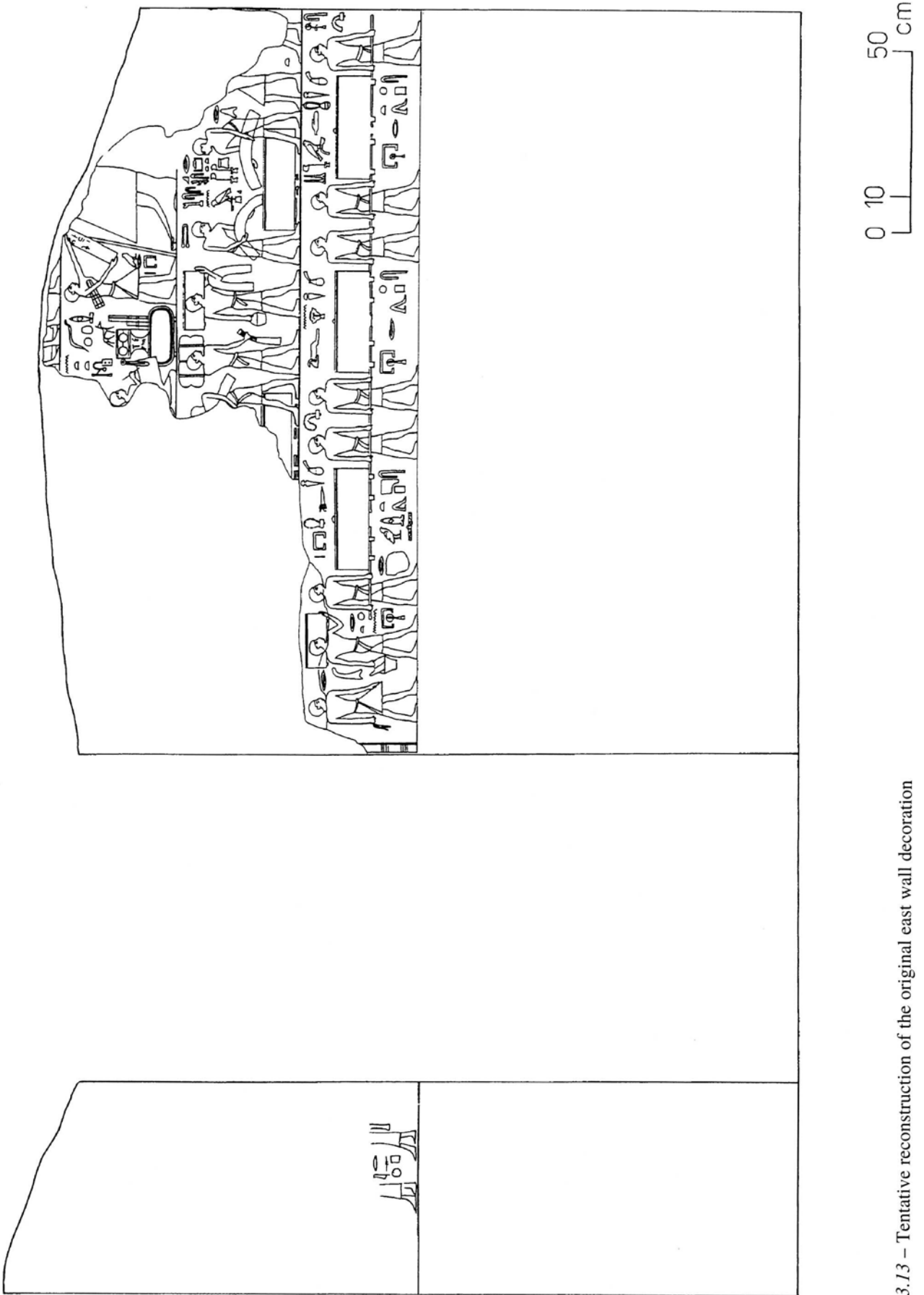


Fig. 3.13 – Tentative reconstruction of the original east wall decoration

one with its procession of box bearers. The topmost register is virtually missing, the second and the third registers are preserved only partially. Since the northern section of the eastern wall of the court measures only some 0.60 m, it is certain that the preserved four registers documented by the Lepsius expedition originate from the wall to the south of the entrance. The original length of the registers can be estimated at 2.05 m and their height – proceeding from the topmost register downwards was. ?, 0.35, 0.34 and 0.33 m. Thus the whole height of the three preserved registers can be estimated at 1.02 m. The registers read in a top-to-bottom direction.

Top register

Only the feet of four persons oriented to the right are preserved. The back foot of the person to the extreme right is preserved and this person probably leads the procession. This figure is followed by three other persons. Due to the Egyptian perspective, they are depicted standing next to each other in a line and only the front leg of each figure is preserved.¹⁹⁷

Second register

The lower part of a seated person is preserved on the extreme right. In comparison with other persons in the register, this figure is oversized, and it depicts the tomb owner in a long kilt reaching below the knees. The figure can probably be associated with the tomb owner Fetekty. He is standing and is approached by the (*j*)*m*(*j*)-*r pr* – the overseer of his household – with a papyrus folder under his right arm and holding an unrolled papyrus in his outstretched hands.¹⁹⁸

According to several better preserved parallels from contemporary tombs,¹⁹⁹ persons in similar attitudes were giving accounts concerning the tomb-equipment of the tomb owner and on the papyrus individual items of such equipment were rendered.²⁰⁰ The tall format of the document, which is typical for the Fifth and early Sixth

Dynasty,²⁰¹ may indicate that the scene dates prior to the reign of Teti – Pepy I, when the tall format gave way to a wider one.²⁰²

Behind the overseer of the house, there is a low oblong, portable writing table with a black frame.²⁰³ On the table there is a scribe's equipment composed of a scribal palette with inkwells on the stand with a cord ending in an erasing stone; further to the right are document cases.²⁰⁴ Above this equipment there is part of a two-line inscription that reads from the right to left:



d3d3t ntt...

zš (n) z3b...

"The magistracy²⁰⁵ which...²⁰⁶
the scribe of *z3b*."

A similar scene depicting the tomb owner supervising the work of the scribes is to be found for instance in the tombs of Mersyankh (III),²⁰⁷ Khufukhaf (I),²⁰⁸ Kanenesut (I)²⁰⁹ and Seneb²¹⁰ at Giza.

The identical graphic form for the word *d3d3t* is to be found in the tomb of Kaiemankh at Giza²¹¹ and a very similar form in the tomb of Ty:



²¹² The inscription of Kaemankh is important in one more respect in that it makes possible the association of the individual parts of the caption with the persons acting in the scene. In the scene depicted in the tomb of Kaemankh, the row of seated men is led by the eldest son of Kaemankh and followed by the scribe of the treasury. Only then follow three men designed as *d3d3t nt pr-hd*.

²⁰¹ See for comparison LD II, pl. 76d. and f; Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1907–1908), pl. 61,2; Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 219.

²⁰² Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, p. 8.

²⁰³ Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*, p. 264.

²⁰⁴ See Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 15, fig. 8; pl. IXb and pl. D; LD II, pl. 9a.

²⁰⁵ Wb V, 528.1; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 130.

²⁰⁶ Moussa, Junge, *Two tombs of Craftsmen*, p. 38.

²⁰⁷ Simpson, Dunham, *Giza Mastabas 1*, fig. 9.

²⁰⁸ Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 3*, fig. 29.

²⁰⁹ Junker, *Giza II*, p. 153, fig. 19.

²¹⁰ *Idem*, *Giza V*, p. 43, fig. 7; 45, fig. 8.

²¹¹ *Idem*, *Giza IV*, fig. 9.

²¹² Steindorff, *Ti*, pl.85; Épron, Wild, *Ti III*, pl. 168.

¹⁹⁷ Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, pp. 178–185 ("lateral layering").

¹⁹⁸ For this title of persons in processions of the tomb owner see Vasiljević, *Gefolge des Grabherrn*, p. 80.

¹⁹⁹ See, for instance, Vandier, *Manuel IV*, p. 196, fig. 83 with a synopsis; Junker, *Giza II*, p. 128, fig. 11, mastaba of Merib; Dunham, Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 1*, fig. 3b and pl. 2c, tomb of Mersyankh (III); Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 3*, fig. 29 and pl. 17b, tomb of Khufukhaf (I).

²⁰⁰ Helck, *Aktenkunde*, pp. 5–6.

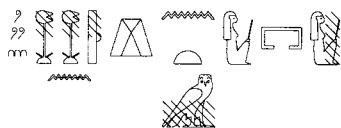
Therefore, it can be inferred that in the case of the Fetekty's tomb it is the $(j)m(j)-r$ *pr* at the head of the officials instead of the oldest son of Fetekty, and that the men referred to as $d3d3t$ *ntt* ("men of the *djadjat* which...") are almost completely missing. For the occasional faulty writing of the sign \bigcirc instead of \bigcirc see parallels in the tombs of Ty.²¹³ and Neferseshemptah²¹⁴ (in the word for $d3d3t$) and Kagemni²¹⁵ (*hnw*). The relative marker *ntt* indicates that a relative clause followed.²¹⁶

The second line presumably refers to a squatting scribe at the table who is noting down some comments or instructions of the tomb owner and is only partly preserved on the extreme left of what has remained of the original length of the register.²¹⁷

From the left part of this register may originate Loose block 2 which was found in the filling of the court:

Loose block 2 (fig. 3.14, pls. XXXIXa, LXXXIVb) 0.64 x 0.18 m.

This block contains a single line of inscription reading from the left to the right and only tiny traces of a second line below it (with *n*):



...*pr-jrjw*t, *nt hr(t)* 2430

"...of the house of weavers, equipment (possession) (1): 2430 (pieces of cloth?)."

1) The reading as *hrt* – "equipment, possession" seems to be supported by Wörterbuch. The noun is determined with a sign of Y2 arranged vertically instead of the more common Y1.²¹⁸

Third register

This register depicts the filling and closing of wooden boxes with linen by men. Only one of these males is not dressed in a short tight kilt with a visible knot.²¹⁹

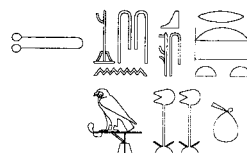
On the far right of the register there are traces

of two persons striding to the left and probably – according to the context of the register – bringing some linen. The left person wears a pointed kilt, the same as is worn by the last man in the procession depicted in the lowermost register. This per-

son has the identical title $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$ $(j)r(j)$ *sšr* – "assistant of (perhaps: responsible for?) linen" – a man who probably supervises the whole enterprise of bringing and packing the linen on behalf of Fetekty which is depicted in this register (packing of cloth) and the next one (transportation of

cloth).²²⁰ According to Junker, the signs \bigcirc and $\overset{\circ}{\Delta}$ were completely interchangeable.²²¹

Next to them is a scene showing two men, one on either side of the box, putting pieces of linen into a wooden box. The caption above them reads as follows:



tz.sn kṛstt

jdmj 2000

"They are piling up²²² the funerary equipment²²³ (consisting of) 2 000 of *jdmj*-linen."²²⁴

The caption relates to the two men below the text who are actually packing (therefore perhaps the expression "pile up") the strips of linen into a long wooden box. The linen in question is designated as *jdmj* (in number of) 2 thousand (see Remark 7).

The *s* in the suffix *.sn* is reversed probably due to graphic reasons. *Kṛstt* is here to be understood as a substantive and as a term referring to the funerary equipment as a whole.²²⁵ The wooden boxes (obviously referred to as *htm* or *htmt*) belonged to the obvious transportation receptacles usually mentioned in the temple archive records concerned with transportation of different items.²²⁶

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pl. 168.

²¹⁴ Moussa, Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, pl. 9.

²¹⁵ Bissing, *Gemnikai* II, pl. 41.

²¹⁶ Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p. 131; for a similar and also incomplete parallel see Moussa, Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, p. 38 and pl. 9.

²¹⁷ Vandier, *Manuel* V, pp. 193–216.

²¹⁸ *Wb* III, 391.6; Davies, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 15, No. 341; Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Caligraphy*, p. 51.

²¹⁹ For a similar scene see Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 3, p. 15, pl. 18 and fig. 30. See also Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 140–141.

²²⁰ For the cloth, its depictions and kinds during the Old Kingdom see Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 134ff. and Edel, *ZÄS* 102 (1975): 13ff.

²²¹ Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 229.

²²² *Wb* V, 405.2.

²²³ *Wb* V, 66.1.

²²⁴ *Wb* I, 153. See also *Wb* V, 456.

²²⁵ Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 199, § 335.

²²⁶ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, 382; Posener-Kriéger, *MDAIK* 47 (1991): 294, fig. 1. For the term itself and its possible meanings see Boochs, *Siegel und Siegeln*, p. 110ff.

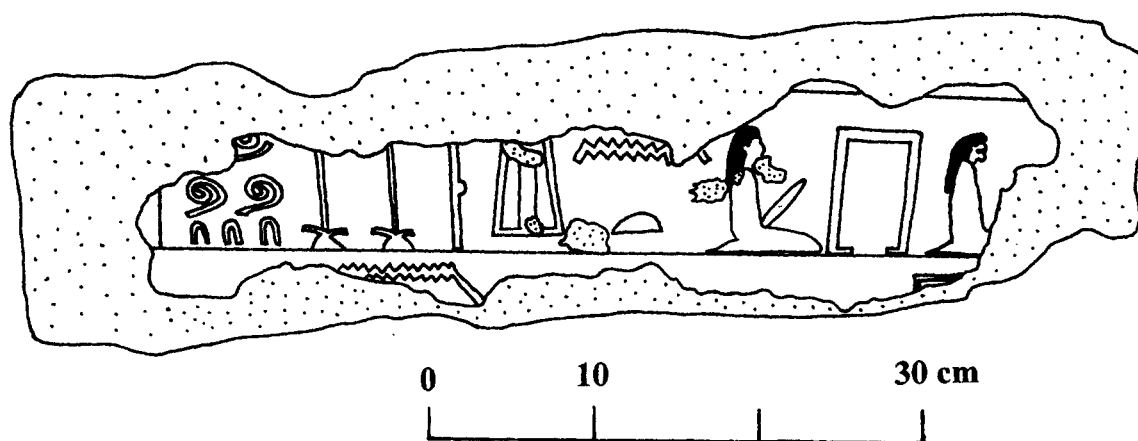


Fig. 3.14 – Loose block 2 discovered in 1991 (probably from the eastern wall of the court)

Further to the left there are two more persons proceeding from the left side of the register. The first man carries a small wooden box on his left shoulder, a strip of cloth over his bent left arm stabilising the box. He holds a small vessel in his right hand. He is followed by a man carrying a large pack of linen on his right shoulder and another strip of cloth in his left hand.²²⁷

The first person in this pair is probably identical with the man occurring in the lowermost register where he is also carrying a smaller wooden box on his shoulder and in his other hand a vessel with a broom inside. In this second case, the man is denoted as *(j)r(j)-(j)ht n pr-ḥd* and he carries a vessel with the broom inside it. This could perhaps be associated with his function – sealing of the boxes.²²⁸ At the far left of this third register there is another person packing linen into another wooden box.

During the excavation of the pillared court in 1991, it was possible to discover one loose block which undoubtedly originates from this register. It is Loose block 3 which was situated on the extreme left of the register and thus represented the logical start of the composition:

Loose block 3 (fig. 3.15, pls. XXXIXb, LXXXIVc)

0.43 × 0.24 m.

The fragment shows two headless persons striding to the right. The figure on the right is a man wearing a pointed short kilt and holding a staff in his right hand. This person corresponds with the inspector supervising the transport of linen into

the funerary estate depicted in the lowermost register of the eastern wall of the court. The male figure is followed by a two-columned inscription, but only the lower parts of the columns are preserved:



1. ...*tp(j) sšr n jrjw nswt, ḥtm mnḥt, ḥtm tp(j) sšr n sšr.*

2. ...*(j)m(j)-r pr-jrjw*

1. "...the best linen of the king's weavers: one *khetem*-box²²⁹ of the four strand cloth,²³⁰ one *khetem*-box of the best *sšr* linen.

2. ...overseer of the house of the weavers."

The reading used for the boxes in the inscription seems to be confirmed in the lowermost register where we can read *ḥtm*. The specification of the kinds of cloth (*mnḥt* and *sšr* linen) is in each case preceded by a single sign for a box.

The register is closed by a striding female figure on the extreme left. She is dressed in a long white tight-fitting tunic and bears a strip of cloth in her hands. It is possible that the captions indicating two different kinds of cloth describe what has been actually performed further to the right, i.e. packing of the cloth into the boxes. Behind her are traces of the original register framing.

²²⁹ See Posener-Krieger, *MDAIK* 47 (1991): 298. Another possibility would have been the term *hn* – *ibid.*, p. 299.

²³⁰ The strokes may indicate either the quality of the cloth or its width – see Edel, *ZÄS* 102 (1975): 26–27.

²²⁷ Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*, p. 31.

²²⁸ Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 141.

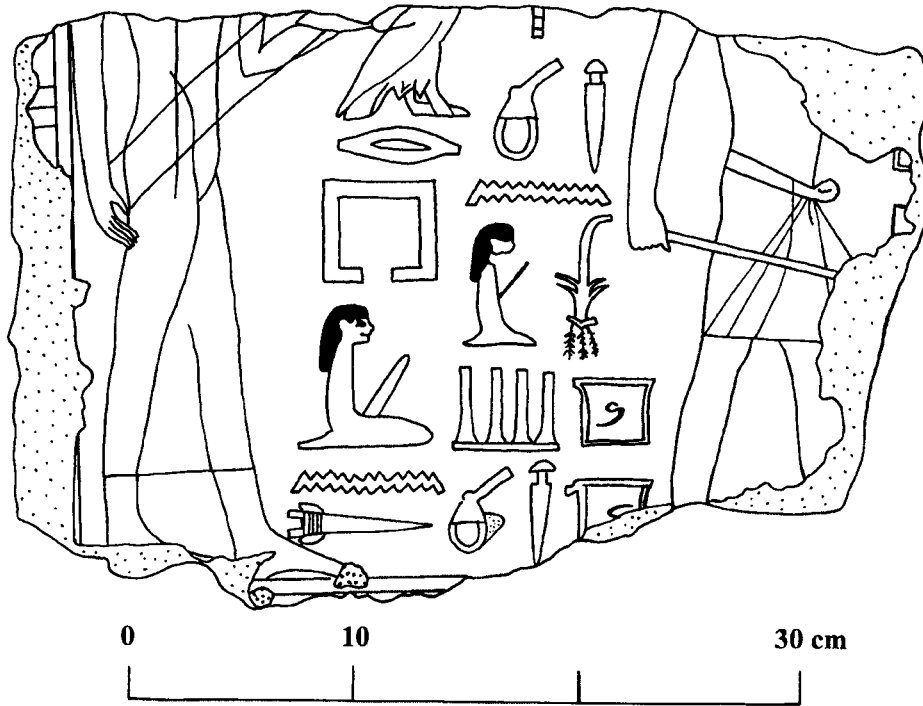
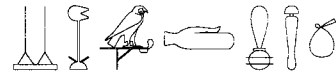


Fig. 3.15 – Loose block 3 discovered in 1991 (from the eastern wall of the court)

Fourth register

This register represents a scene of transporting closed wooden boxes containing different kinds of linen to the institution of *pr-hd*. There are three pairs of men, each pair carrying one wooden box on long poles.²³¹ These men proceed from the left to the right, in the direction of the offering chapel of Fetekty and Mety. The procession is completed by two other men who are probably supervising and responsible for the transport. One of them wears a kilt identical with those of the box carriers and is denoted as *(j)r(j)-(j)ht n pr-dt* (see *supra*). The another one is depicted in a different pointed kilt and denoted as *(j)r(j)-sšr*. It is probably the same person as in the second register. His most distinctive insignia next to the title are the different kind of the kilt – a pointed kilt – and a short whip held in his right hand. He is also without a load

The procession proper starts on the right. It begins immediately with the first pair of porters. The front man is designed as the *shd htm(w)*.²³² Above all three boxes with flat lids there are captions indicating their contents. Above the first box there is the following inscription:



sšr tp(j) (j)dmj h3.

“Best linen – *(j)dmj*-linen (1), 1000, two strand cloth (2).”

In this case (compare the previous register), the full form of *jdmj* is written out. The same inscription occurs on the east wall of the chapel of Khufukhaf (I) where Khufukhaf supervises his funeral equipment.²³³

1) The reading of the sign with a hawk perching on a stand as *(j)dmj* is confirmed by the variant occurring on the stele of Netjernefer.²³⁴ Behind the signs for two thousands in the caption there is a sign of a bag (?) which probably relates to *(j)dmj* and denotes either the kind of linen or the kind of packing. Smith supposed that the term *(j)dmj* written with the sign of a hawk hovering on the perch should refer to red-linen. In fact, there is evidence favouring this possibility, for instance on the stela of Iunu, Wepemneferet and Rahotep.²³⁵

²³¹ For this type of box see Killen, *Furniture II*, pp. 19–20.


²³² For the title see Vasiljević, *Gefolge des Grabherrn*, p. 77; compare Épron, Wild, *Ti II*, pl. 126.

²³³ Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 3*, fig. 30.

²³⁴ Grébaut, *Musée Égyptien I*, pl. 24 a. See also Weill, *Ile et Ile Dynasties*, p. 229. Murray, *Saqqâra Mastabas*, p. 33 was reading the word alternatively as *ntr*-linen.

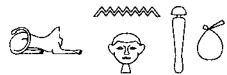
²³⁵ Smith, *ZÄS 71* (1935): 139.

2) The signs with the one, two or four *mnht* strokes very probably, according to Jéquier²³⁶ and Smith,²³⁷ may represent the fringe on the end of the linen, and their number determine the units of the cloth width.²³⁸ So it is also the two-stroke sign that is to be understood here.

Below the box there is a caption  *shp(j)t r pr-hd* which means “bringing to the treasury” and not “from the treasury” as would one perhaps expect.

The *pr-hd* (“Schatzhaus,” “treasury”) was one of the most important institutions in the Old Kingdom. The existence of this institution is attested from the First Dynasty onwards. Its main task was to collect and to house the commodities such as food and drinks, wood, cloth, stones etc.²³⁹ The *pr-hd* also collected taxes in the land such as the incomes from the workshops, expeditions and the like and also played a dominant rôle in the redistribution of these commodities among the officials and workmen employed in the service for the state. The titles connected with this institution seem to indicate that one of the dominant tasks of the *pr-hd* institution in the Old Kingdom was that of collecting and redistributing cloth.²⁴⁰ This institution was also responsible for awarding the officials of the king with parts of the funerary equipment, mainly cloth.²⁴¹

Above the second box there is the following inscription:



sšr tp(j) nhrw

“Best linen – *nhrw*-linen.”²⁴²

Interestingly, the sign for the lion is truncated so that the head of the lion is missing in order to ensure the security of the tomb owner and his offerings.²⁴³ Below the box there is again the identical caption: *shp(j)t r pr-hd* “bringing to the treasury.”

²³⁶ Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*, p. 31ff.

²³⁷ Smith, *ZAS* 71 (1935): 148.

²³⁸ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, pp. 342–343 and 342, footnote 9.

²³⁹ Helck, *Beamtentitel* p. 59; Schmitz, *LÄ* V (1984), cols. 536–5388.

²⁴⁰ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 61; *Urk.* I, 138.7 and 177.9.

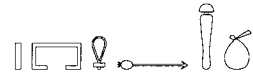
²⁴¹ Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 97.

²⁴² *Wb* II, 298.11.

²⁴³ Edel, *Altäg.* *Grammatik* I, p. 33, § 74.

The man carrying the third box in front is labelled as the *htm* denoting men who were working in the treasury.²⁴⁴ The reading of the sign as *htm*²⁴⁵ seems to be validated by the writing of its full form in the tomb of Ty at Saqqara and in the sun-temple of Userkaf at Abu Ghurab.²⁴⁶ According to Fischer, the form with the upright necklace (Gardiner's sign S19) was preferred in combination with the narrow signs whereas the seal with the curved necklace is usually found in combination with the wide signs.²⁴⁷

The inscription relating to the third box reads:



sšr tp(j) šsr, htm

The best linen – *šsr*-linen,²⁴⁸ one wooden *khetem*-box.²⁴⁹

Here the word *šsr* is written by means of a logogram for arrow.²⁵⁰ This writing seems to continue the older tradition when the linen list was an integral part of the slab-stelae offering lists and where the *šsr* was written only by means of an arrow.

Below the box there is another inscription:



s[h]p(j)t d3w r (pr-hd)

“Bringing of *d3w*-linen to the (*pr-hd*).”

The word *d3w* here probably should read *d3* as given in *Wörterbuch*.²⁵¹ The sign for *w* may be a faulty copy of the original made by the copyists of the Lepsius expedition. The word is determined, however, by the sign for the papyrus roll standing here instead of the cloth determinative.²⁵² Perhaps

²⁴⁴ Boochs, *Siegel und Siegel*, pp. 64–65 and 106.

²⁴⁵ See Schott, *WZKM* 54 (1957): 177–185; Fischer, *The Coptite Nome*, Appendix B, pp. 126–129; Quirke, *Administration*, p. 61.


²⁴⁶ Épron, Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 174; Edel, Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pl. 9, oben, 34 – photograph, text p. 21. For the parallels in Hebrew see Keel, Uehlinger, *Altorientalische Kunst*, pp. 87–92.

²⁴⁷ Fischer, *The Coptite Nome*, p. 126; for using these two signs as dating criterion see Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 79.

²⁴⁸ *Wb* IV, 295.12–13.

²⁴⁹ *Wb* III, 352.5; Boochs, *Siegel*, pp. 40–41.

²⁵⁰ Gardiner, *Grammar*³, p. 512, Signlist T11.

²⁵¹ *Wb* V, 515.8 – with the given correct writing as . For this kind of linen see also Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 350 and 366 (j.).

²⁵² Gardiner, *Grammar*³, p. 533, Signlist sign Y2.

the sign here refers to a roll (of linen given in the inscription above?).

As was mentioned above, the procession of the box-carriers is ended by two men. The first one is indicated as $(j)r(j)-(j)ht n pr-hd$, “assistant of the treasury” and is carrying in one hand a vessel with a smaller broom inside.²⁵³ Junker was of the opinion that the vessel and the broom served as toilet utensils for the tomb owner.²⁵⁴ It seems more likely, however, that this equipment was related to the sealing of the boxes. This is corroborated by the fact that the vessels with the broom are in most cases depicted in the processions of the box carriers. From the context of the scenes it is moreover certain that these boxes contained – in most cases – linen and/or cloth for the use of the tomb owner.²⁵⁵

The last man in the procession seems to be the overseer of the whole enterprise. As was stated above, his position within the scenes is a very different and quite distinct one. He is denoted as $(j)r(j)-sšr$, “assistant of the linen” wears a pointed kilt and holds in one hand a short whip. Behind him, there is visible the clear end of the register.

The lowermost register is interesting from the palaeographic view as well. It is mainly for the graphic form of the writing of the term $pr-hd$ which can – at least tentatively – date the monuments at Giza and Saqqara.²⁵⁶ There are two ways of writing this sign-group:

A) the sign for hd is fully embedded in the sign for pr ,

B) the sign is half-embedded in the sign for pr .²⁵⁷

Whereas during the Fourth Dynasty type A dominates at Giza and type B at Saqqara, type B seems to dominate from the later reign of King Izezi onwards at both cemeteries, Giza and Saqqara. There are, however, some minor exceptions to the rule in that type A survives at Saqqara to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and at Giza to the middle of the Sixth Dynasty. Nevertheless, as far as Saqqara is concerned, this rule seems to operate quite well.²⁵⁸

The motif of packing and transporting linen falls among the group of infrequently depicted

scenes, namely those representing the preparation of the burial equipment and the packing of different kinds of linen, all that being supervised by the tomb owner. The linen-lists appeared relatively late – first in the middle of the Third Dynasty.²⁵⁹ These lists presumably developed from the tradition of the linen lists placed on the slab-stelae or on the walls of the offering chapels where together with the recording of the kind of linen, their number and width were also given. This is the case here, for next to the linen designations there are, though not in every case, notions giving their (symbolic) number and quality (linen width). When linen occurs outside the linen list proper, it is usually put on the walls of tomb chapels. In these cases, the linen is usually presented to the tomb owner during the inspection of his tomb equipment.²⁶⁰

There are only a few examples when the proper content of the boxes is portrayed. In the tomb of Khufukhaf (I) at Giza there are some pleated pieces shown and they seem to indicate the content of the boxes.²⁶¹ In the tomb of Merib at Giza there is a representation of the sealed equipment and only one man presents in his outstretched hands a strip of cloth.²⁶² Very often the procession of the box carriers is shown lacking any label indicating the contents of the boxes at all.²⁶³ Such is the scene in the tomb of Ty²⁶⁴ or Mersyankh (III).²⁶⁵ Most frequently, the presentation of a linen or cloth scene occurs in the tombs at Giza and dates to the Fourth and the early Fifth Dynasty.²⁶⁶

Only at the end of the Old Kingdom is the linen portrayed on the walls of the burial chambers as a part of the burial equipment. In most cases, however, their representation is limited to a sealed box or package with a label above it.²⁶⁷ The tomb of Fetekty is the only example known to me where the act of packing the linen into the boxes is shown. Moreover, from the historical point of view we are here concerned with the unique scenes depicting the ordinary workmen of the $pr-hd$ during their everyday routine work – packing, sealing and transporting of cloth. Besides this, the

²⁵³ Vasiljević, *Gefolge des Grabherrn*, pp. 47–48.

²⁵⁴ Junker, *Giza IV*, p. 35.

²⁵⁵ Vasiljević, *Gefolge des Grabherrn*, see table on p. 48.

²⁵⁶ Strudwick, *JEA* 71 (1985): *passim* and Desplanques, *CRIPEL* 20 (1999): 30–31.

²⁵⁷ For a third graphic form with a determinative of pr following the group $pr-hd$ see *ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

²⁵⁹ Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 8.

²⁶⁰ Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 147.

²⁶¹ Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 3, fig. 30.

²⁶² Junker, *Giza II*, p. 128, fig. 11.

²⁶³ Vandier, *Manuel IV*, pp. 135ff.

²⁶⁴ Épron, Wild, *Ti II*, pls. 124, 126; *Ti III*, pl. 150.

²⁶⁵ Dunham, Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 1, fig. 8.

²⁶⁶ Vasiljević, *Gefolge des Grabherrn*, p. 67.

²⁶⁷ Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 147; see now also Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 34.

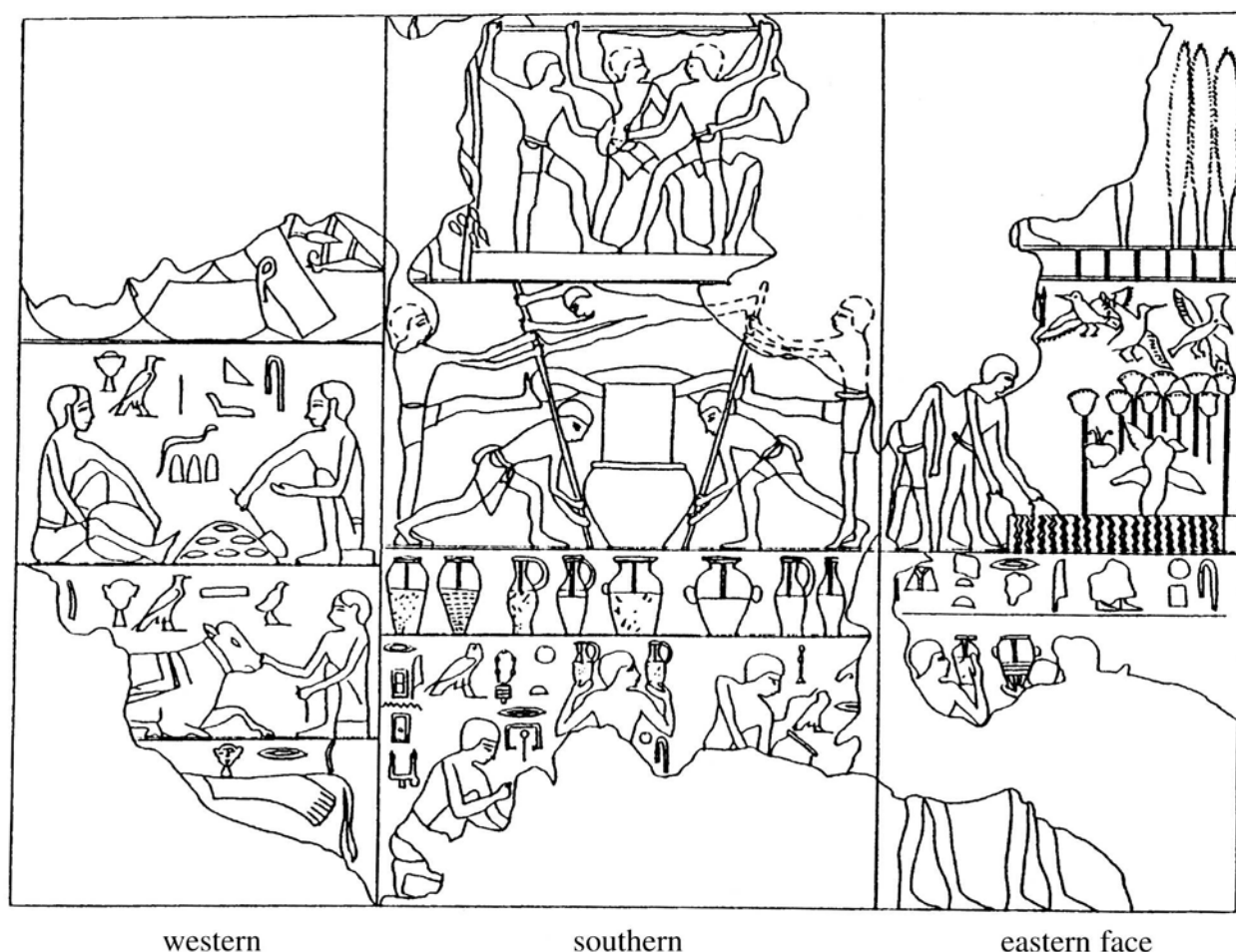


Fig. 3.16 –Reconstruction of the original half pillar decoration (drawn at an approximate scale due to the inaccurate original by Lepsius, central column 1:10)

scene is interesting in that it explicitly mentions the most lowly titles we encounter in Old Egyptian texts such as *(j)r(j)-(j)ht* and *(j)r(j)-sšr*.

To sum up, the scenes decorating this wall depict the transporting of different sorts of linen to the institution *pr-hd*, and their further distribution as a part of the burial equipment for Fetekty. Individual registers show the majordomo of his household reporting to Fetekty about the supplies and quantity of the individual items he is going to deliver to the treasury, the preparation of linen for transport under the supervision of an *(j)m(j)-r pr-jrjw* and the transportation of linen/cloth to the treasury.

3.4.1.1.3 Half-pillar (fig. 3.16)²⁶⁸

The decoration of the half-pillar is placed on its eastern, southern and western faces. There are preserved three (in the case of the western face four)

registers showing different field activities. Thematically, it is possible to divide the decoration into two asymmetrical parts. The first part consists of the scenes on the eastern and southern face, depicting wine production including its final stage, the sealing and transporting of the filled jars. The western face of the half pillar was reserved for the pastoral scenes.

Eastern face

The dimensions of the individual registers can only be roughly estimated since the documentation made by the Lepsius expedition does not seem to match well with the situation encountered during the excavation campaign in 1991. The results of the excavation have shown that the eastern wall of the half pillar was slightly longer than was the case with the western one. The drawings made by the Lepsius expedition, on the contrary, indicate that the western face should be, in fact, slightly longer. Therefore, the measurements for

²⁶⁸ LD II, pl. 96 and LD Ergänz., pl. 40.

the drawings by Lepsius' artists given below are only approximate and are based primarily on the excavation results which provide absolute measurements as far as the particular architectural features are concerned. The length of the registers is about 0.43 m and their height slightly varies from 0.33 to 0.43 m (lowermost-middle-uppermost: 0.43, 0.38 and 0.33 m). The registers read in most cases in the top-to-bottom direction.

Top register

The left part of the uppermost register is partly damaged. The bottom part represents the ground divided into regular watering squares representing irrigation trenches. On the right side there are still the silhouettes of four lettuces, each one occupying one square. They probably stand for four rows of high lettuces (*Lactuca sativa* L.).²⁶⁹ This system of a garden arrangement is probably comparable with the scene one can nowadays still observe in Egypt when the rows of trees in the palm groves are bisected by similar watering trenches, sometimes with water which is at intervals let in and out.²⁷⁰ On the left of this scene, there are the contours of a man's foot.

Second register

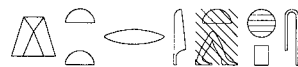
The greater part of the second register is occupied by the papyrus thicket growing in a water reservoir, above which are birds that have been flushed out. On the left there are two male figures dressed in short tight kilts. The first one is filling two beer jars with water whereas the second one is already carrying his load away in order to water the garden in the top register.²⁷¹

These two registers compose two stages of the same gardening activity: bringing of water and watering of the garden.²⁷² The registers therefore follow in an upward direction. According to Edel, this scene is related to the lettuce harvest which took part in Egypt during April.²⁷³

Third register


In the lowermost (third) register there are preserved two striding male figures oriented to the


right and carrying some vessels (probably stone vessels) on their shoulders. Above their heads there is preserved a horizontal, one-line inscription reading to the left:



shp(j)[t] jrtt

"Bringing of milk."

The word *jrtt* is unusually determined by the butchering slab sign  whereas one would expect the sign of the milk jug covered with

a leaf²⁷⁴  which normally occurs as a determinative behind the word for milk.²⁷⁵ However, there may have been another underlying concept which should be taken into account, namely that there was an association between the cow giving milk and a slaughtering block on which the cattle used to be butchered.

This register shows no discernible similarities with the preceding two. One might suppose that it was appended to the wall as a "filling" element for the space which would be otherwise left empty.

Southern face

The approximate length of the registers can be estimated at 0.65 m. Their heights correspond to those on the eastern face so that their heights differ only slightly (lowermost-middle-uppermost register: 0.39, 0.34 and 0.29 m). The registers read again in the downward direction. The registers contain scenes depicting the vintage and the filling and transportation of the wine produced by the funerary estate.²⁷⁶

Top register

The painting depicts a gang of men treading the wine grapes in a treading vat.²⁷⁷ The four men are

²⁷⁴ Gardiner, *Grammar* 3, p. 530, sign W20.

²⁷⁵ See Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 114: or the tomb of Manefer – LD II,



pl. 66:

²⁷⁶ For the vintage scenes see Montet, *RdT* 35 (1913): 117–124; Montet, *Scènes de la vie*, pp. 265–273; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 81–82; Brewer, Redford, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 54–60. See also Mu-Chou-Poo, *Wine and wine offering*, pp. 5–12 and Curtis, *Food Technology*, pp. 142–164.

²⁷⁷ See Davies, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 21; 23 – upper; Épron, Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 171; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nefer and Kahay*, pl. 9; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas* 5, fig.38 – the tomb of Iymery.

²⁶⁹ Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, pp. 1–6; Germer, *Flora*, pp. 185–186; Wilkinson, *Garden*, p. 21.

²⁷⁰ See, for instance, Steindorff, *Blütezeit des Pharaonenreiches*, p. 61, fig. 54; Blackman, *Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 306.

²⁷¹ For a parallel see Duell, *Mereruka* I, pls. 20–21.

²⁷² See, for instance, Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, p. 76; fig. 8.

²⁷³ Edel, *Weltkammer* II, p. 170.

wearing short kilts with a central downward triangular piece which are characteristics for the wine-growers.²⁷⁸ The grapes are continuously poured into a pool by a man on the far left. There are two vertical wooden beams on the sides of the pool joined with another crossbeam. The men treading the grapes inside the basin are holding the horizontal crosspiece with one arm, while the second arm is placed around the waist of a neighbour. This would improve their stability during the physically demanding work.

Second register

The register below represents a scene of the sack-press attested as early as the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty at Meidum.²⁷⁹ The scene depicts squeezing the mash from the pool by means of wringing the sack containing the pulp left after the treading. The scene is usually composed of five persons who operate the poles and the pressing sack.²⁸⁰ There is a large bowl in the middle of the scene for catching the pressed juice. On its sides there are two poles which are operated by two men on each side. The first pair is holding the poles at their bottom ends in order to ensure the stability of the poles fixed against the floor. The second pair of men is holding the poles on their opposite ends and pulling them backwards. Each pole runs through one end of the sack. In such a way the sack is twisted and the remaining juice is squeezed out of the pulp and flows down into the collecting vessel placed below the sack. The fifth man is represented with outstretched legs between the upper ends of the poles, holding firmly the end of the left pole and pushing the pole ends backwards.²⁸¹

Third register

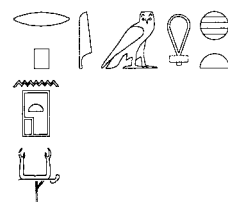
The lowermost scene, the lower part of which is also partly damaged, depicts the final stage of the wine production, the filling, sealing and transportation of the wine jugs.²⁸² There are also three small captions relating to the male figures. The extreme right man is probably pouring wine into

the wine jugs: *(j)m(j)-r (?) Hm(j)(?)*, “Overseer(?), Hemi(?)”.²⁸³

The filling of the jugs is usually made from the shallow large bowls with a spout and a low rim. In the case of Fetekty, it seems that the wine is poured from a beer jar-like vessel.

The middle man is carrying away two wine jugs placed on his shoulders: *sh[pjt] r pr-hd*, “Transportation (of the wine) to the treasury.”

The extreme left kneeling person is sealing the filled jugs:



htm(w) jrp n hwt-k3

“Sealing of the wine for the funerary estate.”²⁸⁴

The sign *m* is transposed with the sign for *htm*. Usually the scenes of the vintage are composed of four individual parts: harvesting of grapes (the harvesters are usually kneeling or standing below the grapevine),²⁸⁵ treading of the grapes, the sack-press, and finally the sealing and transportation of the wine jugs. In this case, the very first scene is missing and it can only be supposed that this scene was placed above the scene of treading of grapes and that it did not survive. The interpretation of the scene is the same as in the case of cloth registration and transportation; it shows Fetekty fulfilling his duties for the treasury.

Western face

The vertical division of the registers is not the same as it was in the preceding two examples. There are altogether four registers, although only the middle two of them are more or less completely preserved. The length of the wall can be estimated at 0.25 m, the height of the individual registers (proceeding from the lowermost one upwards) being 0.18, 0.19 and 0.24 m. The upper edge of the fourth register is lost so that the original height of the register remains unknown.

²⁷⁸ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nefer and Kahay*, p. 24; *idem*, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, p. 111, footnote 606.

²⁷⁹ LD II, pls. 13; 49b; 111a; LD *Ergänz.*, pl. 21; Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 25; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 8 and 12; *idem*, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pl. 38–39; Davies, *Ptahhetep*, pls. 21; 23 – lower; Épron, Wild, *Ti III*; pl. 171; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas 5*, fig. 38 – tomb of Iymery.

²⁸⁰ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, p. 112.

²⁸¹ In one example of this scene, there is a baboon instead of a man, see Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 8. and 12.

²⁸² Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*; pl. 39; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas 5*, fig. 38 – tomb of Iymery.

²⁸³ For a similar name see Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 240.21.

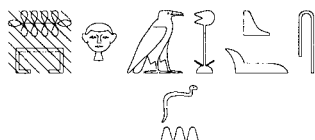
²⁸⁴ See Wb III, 5.16 – “auch Dorf o.ä., dessen Einkünfte einem Grabe zugeteilt sind”.

Top register

It is only the lower part of the register which is discernible on the Lepsius drawing. It shows three large baskets with handles placed on the ground. It seems that the rightmost basket was filled with earth and flowers with three stalks and one blossom (of a lotus?) still visible.

Second register

This register is occupied by two herdsmen who are preparing their food in the ashes of a fire.²⁸⁶ They both are depicted with characteristic balding herdsmen heads, sitting on the respective sides of the fireplace. The herdsman on the right side is regulating the bread loaves in the ash and the one on the left is preparing some other loaves from dough placed in a large vessel. The caption, part of which is probably erroneously reproduced by Lepsius's expeditions, originally read as follows:



skr h3d(w) hr [s3]

"Kneading the dough [on the field]."²⁸⁷

This scene is one of the three-part composition portraying the preparation of food by the herdsmen – mixing and kneading of the dough and finally of baking bread loaves in the ashes.²⁸⁸

Third register

The register depicts another hornless beast lying on the ground, with a mat over its back, being fed by a herdsman:



wš3 hr(j)-db^c

"Feeding²⁸⁹ of the hornless cattle."

Fourth register

Of the lower register only its right section is preserved with the back of a bovid and a caption:

hr(j)-db^c

"Hornless (or fancy) cattle."²⁹⁰

This kind of cattle is attested as early as the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty²⁹¹ and is never depicted engaged in work.²⁹² Such cattle are usually featured as being fed by the herdsmen and with reed mats over their backs protecting them from the sun.²⁹³

3.4.1.1.4. Pillar (fig. 3.17)

The decoration of the central pillar in the court counts among the best preserved parts of the original decoration program of the tomb disclosed by the Lepsius expedition. The pillar was situated approximately in the middle of the court and was decorated on all four sides. The documentation made by the Lepsius expedition depicts altogether three, partly damaged registers. The northern and the eastern walls depict scenes of the hunt in the desert and the southern and the western wall were reserved for the unique scenes from the local market.

3.4.1.1.4.1 Southern and western face

These two walls are completely occupied by one of the most detailed corpus of market scenes known from the Old Kingdom.²⁹⁴ There is a number of the market-scenes from the Old Kingdom attested so far from the non-royal tombs along with a scene from the causeway of the King Unas. The list of the market scenes so far attested from the Old Kingdom is as follows:

– Djadjaemankh,²⁹⁵ the fragment originates probably from the tomb of Djadjaemankh (II) at Saqqara and dates to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty;²⁹⁶

²⁸⁵ Davies, *Ptahhetep*; pls. 21, 23 – upper; Épron, Wild, *Ti III*, pl. 171; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*; pl. 10.

²⁸⁶ Wreszinski, *ZÄS* 61 (1926): 14–15; Montet, *Scènes de la vie*, p. 111; Vandier, *Manuel IV*, p. 274, fig. 124; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, p. 153.

²⁸⁷ For parallels see *ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁸⁸ *LD II*, pls. 66, 77, 105b; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pl. 76; Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 123; Junker, *Giza IV*, pl. 13; Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908)*, pls. 62, 1; 66, 2; Petrie, Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17, 2–3; Moussa, Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*; pl. 13; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas 5*, fig. 34 (= *LD Ergänzung*, pl. 7).

²⁸⁹ *Wb I*, 369.2 – "mästen."

²⁹⁰ *Wb III*, 136.6 – "hornloses Rind"; Brewer, Redford, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, p. 84.

²⁹¹ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 9, tomb of Rahotep.

²⁹² Brewer, Redford, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, p. 84.

²⁹³ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 5 and 20; *LD II*, pl. 62 – tomb of Rashepses; *LD II*, pl. 105b – tomb of Khunes; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pl. 77.

²⁹⁴ Klebs, *Reliefs des AR*, p. 116; Montet, *Scènes de la vie*, pp. 319–326; Erman, *Reden*, pp. 48–51; Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, pp. 52–55; Helck, *LÄ II* (1977), cols. 943–948; *idem*, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 114–115; Altenmüller, *LÄ III* (1980), cols. 1191–1194; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 112; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 248–260; Römer, *SAK* 19 (1992): 257–284. For the preliminary publication of the market scenes from the tomb of Fetekty see Bárta, *SAK* 26 (1998): 19–34.

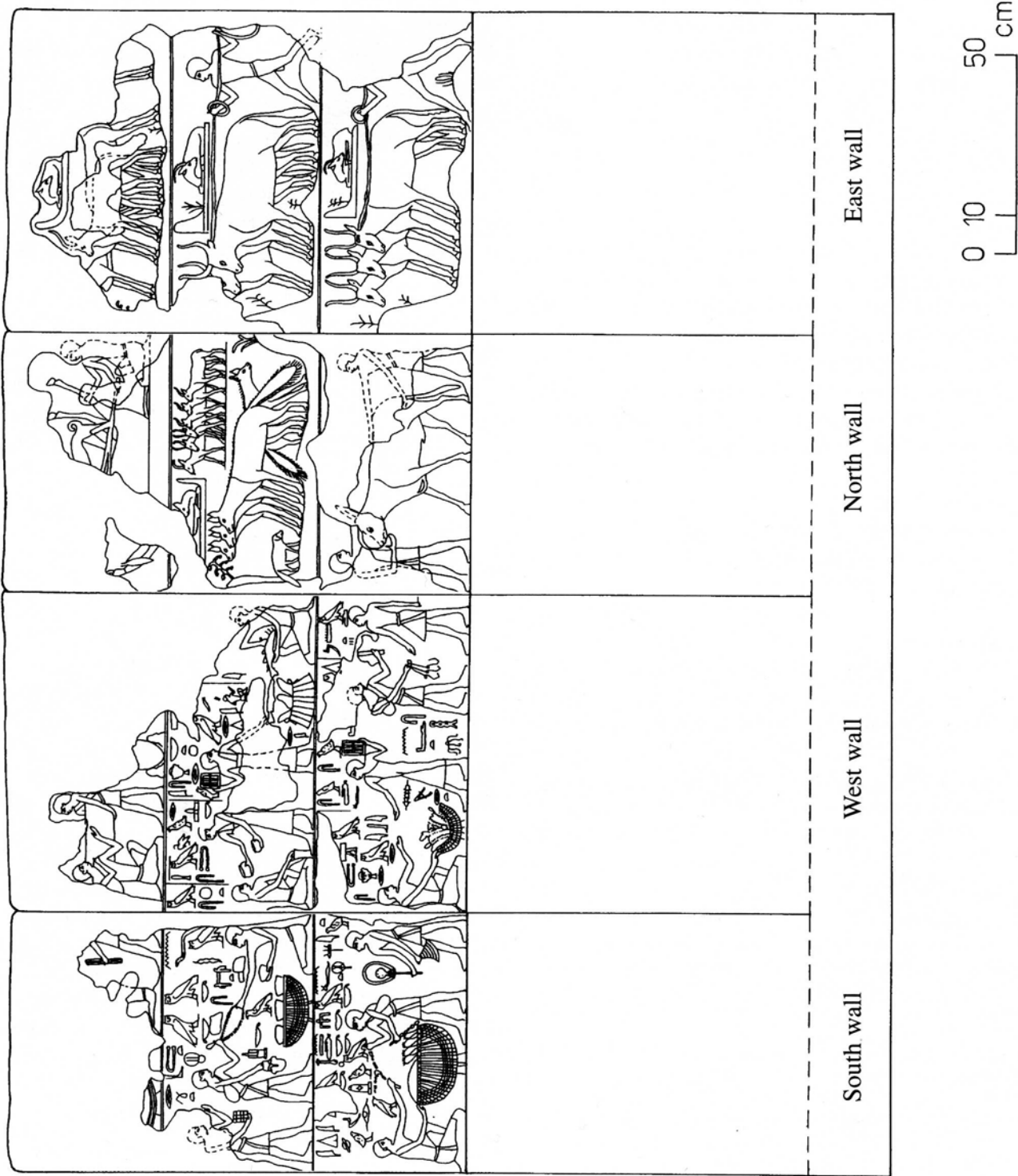


Fig. 3.17 – Reconstruction of the original pillar decoration

- Ty,²⁹⁷ Saqqara, reign of Nyuserra or later;²⁹⁸
- Ptahshepses, Abusir, only partly published,²⁹⁹ reign of Nyuserra;
- Nianknum and Khnumhotep,³⁰⁰ Saqqara, reign of Nyuserra;³⁰¹
- Iymeri,³⁰² Giza, reign of Nyuserra;³⁰³
- Kagemni,³⁰⁴ Saqqara, reign of Teti;³⁰⁵
- Ankhmahor,³⁰⁶ Saqqara, the early Sixth Dynasty;³⁰⁷
- Mehu,³⁰⁸ Saqqara, reign of Pepy I or later;³⁰⁹
- Cairo, JE 39860;³¹⁰
- the causeway of Unas,³¹¹ Saqqara, reign of Unas.

The market scenes belong to several motifs which are only sporadically attested in the tombs of the Old Kingdom and interpretation of which poses serious questions, in most cases due to their fragmentary preserved inscriptions. With one exception (Iymeri), all the attested market scenes so far come from the Abusir – Saqqara cemeteries and appear only during the reign of Nyuserra.

Southern face

The whole length of the scene can be estimated at about 0.65 m and the height of the equally spaced registers about 0.36 m.


Top register

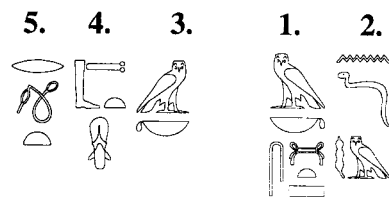
It has been almost totally destroyed since the time of its discovery in the nineteenth century. On the far right, there is a striding male holding a papyrus

roll in his hand. The central place of the scene is occupied by a seated seller. In front of him, further to the left, there is preserved the lower part of a large basket placed on a low stand.

Second register

This register has been much better preserved and depicts an exchange transaction. The seller is seated in the right corner of the picture, behind a basket on a low stand. Three low cakes placed in the basket are visible. The seller is holding one cake in his left and holding a necklace just received in his right hand. The caption above the basket, reading from the left to the right, gives his name as

Iunka .³¹² Iunka is approached by a shopper from the left. The shopper wears a short kilt and a shopping bag across his left shoulder. He is offering a pair of sandals held in his right. His left arm holds one end of the offered necklace. Behind him stands another man holding a wicker measure (?) in his right.³¹³ The direct speech documents the lively conversation about the price³¹⁴:



mk, st3t(.j) ndm

mk, tbt(.j) rwdt

Iunka: "Look, (my) cake (1.) is sweet! (2.)"

The shopper: "Look, (3.) (my) sandal(s) (4.) is solid! (5.)"

Third register

This register represents a vegetable seller kneeling behind a wicker basket filled with onions.³¹⁵ The seller is approached by two shoppers from the right. The first shopper carries a shopping bag across his right shoulder and is offering a necklace to the vegetable seller. The second one hastens from behind, holding an upright lotiform fan³¹⁶ in his right and a basketry fire fan in his left.³¹⁷

³¹² Ranke, *Personenamen* I, 17.17.

³¹³ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianknum und Chnumhotep*, p. 84 –Sz. 11.4.2.

³¹⁴ See also Erman, *Reden*, pp. 274–275; Montet, *Scènes de la vie*, p. 320.

³¹⁵ Brewer, Redford, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 67–69.

³¹⁶ Fischer, *LÄ* II, (1977), col. 81 – type A.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 81.

²⁹⁵ Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae* II, p. 7, no. 24; pl. 5. See also the reconstruction of the scene by Der Manuelian, in *Egyptian Art*, pp. 404–407 (the scene was partly reconstructed in 1942 by Smith in *AJA* 46, fig. 6).

²⁹⁶ *PM* III, p. 483.

²⁹⁷ Épron, Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 174.

²⁹⁸ *PM* III, p. 468.

²⁹⁹ Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pp. 62–63, pls. 29–30, photo 44. B. Vachala, *Fragmenty reliéfů z Ptahšepesovy mastaby v Abúsíru*. (Fragments of reliefs from the mastaba of Ptahshepses, Abusir) (Prague, 1988), unpublished dissertation, pp. 382–385, Frg. PT 42/82.

³⁰⁰ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianknum und Chnumhotep*, pp. 81–85; pl. 24; fig. 10.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

³⁰² *LD* II, pl. 49b; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas* 5, fig. 30.

³⁰³ *PM* III, p. 170.

³⁰⁴ Bissing, *Gemnikai* I, pls. 22 and 23.

³⁰⁵ *PM* III, p. 521.

³⁰⁶ Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, figs. 29–31, pls. 32–34.

³⁰⁷ *PM* III, p. 512.

³⁰⁸ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pp. 205–207, pl. 102.

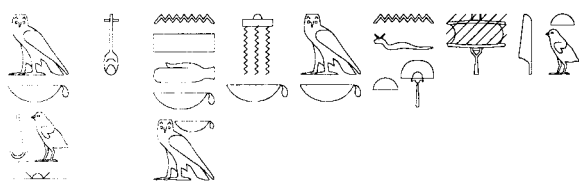
³⁰⁹ *PM* III, p. 619.

³¹⁰ Harpur, *SAK* 13 (1986): 116–117 and 115, fig. 4.

³¹¹ Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938): pl. 97.

Both types of fans can be associated together and are sometimes carried by the same person³¹⁸ or represented separately. The lotiform fan has been depicted in the procession of the offering bearers³¹⁹ and was undoubtedly part of the funerary equipment,³²⁰ whereas the fire fan was used for the handling of the fire during the baking of bread or poultry.³²¹ The above caption reproduces the offers made by the shoppers, the columns 1.–4. relate to the first man whereas the second part, 5.–8. to the second one:

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.



mk, dw nfr, nšd.k. Mk, thnt.k. Mk, nft mhjw.
 “Look, the beautiful treasure,³²² (1.–2.) your jewelry. Look (3.), your necklace (4.). Look (5.), the *nf(j)t* fan³²³ (6.) and the *[mh]jw* fan.”³²⁴ (7.–8.)

The vegetable seller replies:

10. 9.



jmj m33(.j), jmj jsw

“Let me (see),³²⁵(9.) (and) give me the price!”(10.)³²⁶

Western face

Only the lowermost two registers are well preserved, a large part of the third one is missing so that the reconstruction of the scene is far from certain. The whole length of the registers can be estimated at about 0.80 m and the height of the equally spaced registers about 0.36 m.

Top register

It is preserved only partially and it can be just estimated that it could originally consist of two parts. On the left, there is a man seated with a shopping bag across his shoulders. There is another man approaching from the right and holding a rectangular object in his hands, a piece of white cloth. The seated man has bent arms, and is probably bargaining about the price of the cloth.³²⁷

A scene of similar context occurs only in the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara.³²⁸ Its rarity results from the fact that the cloth and its production was a royal monopoly. The occurrence of this scene in the tomb of Fetekty may be explained by the fact that on one of the loose blocks encountered during the excavation in the pillar room (Loose block 3), there was a title (*j*)*m(j)-r pr-jrjw*, “Overseer of the house of weavers”. This title in fact refers to the place where the linen was produced.³²⁹ Despite the fact that the link between the title of the overseer of weavers and Fetekty is not certain, it can be at least supposed that Fetekty was somehow concerned with the institution itself, as this title indicates.

There is a vessel fixed between two stones (?) further to the right. Only the lower part of the vessel is discernible and the remaining portion of the scene is missing. Again, the original content of the scene can be – with a certain degree of probability – estimated according to the existing parallels. The scene originally would have depicted the pouring out of a liquid of some kind (wine, water, beer?).³³⁰

³¹⁸ Épron, Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 174 – both fans are carried by an offering bearer.

³¹⁹ For the list see Vasiljević, *Gefolge des Grabherrn*, p. 50 – 3.1.6. – compilation of the fans and flywhisks carried by the offering bearers; for the lotiform fan see Hassan, *Giza* IV, p. 140, fig.81; Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 73, fig. 31; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des AR* II, pl. 62, CG 1559; Épron, Wild, *Ti* I, pls. 16–17; *LD* II, pls. 19; 30; 103 (transportation of the funerary equipment).

³²⁰ Jéquier, *Frises d’Objets*, pp. 254–255; 255, figs. 670, 671.

³²¹ For instance *LD* II, pls. 66; 77; *LD Ergän.*, pl. 7; *Pushkin Museum*, pp. 26–27.

³²² For the determinative at the end of the column see emendation suggested by Fischer, *JARCE* 13 (1976): 19, endnote 11.

³²³ *Wb* II, 250.10.

³²⁴ *Wb* II, 123.10.

³²⁵ For the form of the imperative of the verb *rdj* see Edel, *Altäg. Grammatik* I, p. 294, § 607; for the transliteration of the form *ibid.* p. 295, § 608.

³²⁶ For a different translation: “je fais voir, je donne la contravaleur” see Posener-Kriéger, in *Fs Edel*, p. 323.

³²⁷ Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, p. 91 and 90, fig. 21d and i.

³²⁸ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Niankhnum und Chnumhotep*, pp. 84–85, Sz.11.4.4.; fig.10.

³²⁹ Junker, *Giza* V, pp. 55–58; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 63.

³³⁰ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Niankhnum und Chnumhotep*, pp. 83–84, Sz.11.3.5.; fig. 10.

Second register

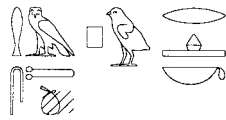
This register is almost completely preserved and only its upper right corner is missing. As in the previous case, there are again two independent scenes. In the left half of the picture, there is a seller seated at a stone vessel placed in front of him. He is approached by a slightly bent woman holding in her arms two small, white coloured stone (?) vases. The caption above determines the



name of the vessel: *msht*.³³¹

The speech by the woman:


1. 2. 3.




hm, st pw r htp.k

“Truly (1), it is the *st* (*hb*) oil (2),³³² (1.–2.) so that you may be satisfied (3.)!”³³³

1) The only expression which seems to make a sense at the beginning of the sentence seems to be


the particle *hm*  “truly”.³³⁴ Despite this fact, I was unable to identify another parallel attesting

to the writing .

2) Another problem is found in the second column of the caption. Here, the first bird-like sign does not seem to make much sense for the meaning of the sentence. Therefore, I prefer to depart from the original and to substitute the sign drawn in the original by the sign for *p* which enables the translation as a nominal sentence with *pw* as a subject and preceding predicate of the *st* oil.³³⁵

The *st* (*hb*) oil (or perfume of the festival)³³⁶ belongs to the traditional list of the seven sacred oils and occurs in the offering lists from the early Fourth Dynasty onwards.³³⁷ The oil played an important role in the opening of the mouth ritual³³⁸ and it was also part of the funerary equipment.³³⁹

³³¹ Balcz, *MDAIK* 5 (1934): 85.

³³² *Wb* IV, 350.7, also as .

³³³ Edel, *Altäg. Grammatik* I, p. 233, § 501.

³³⁴ *Idem*, *Altäg. Grammatik* II, p. 421, § 839.


³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 489ff., § 958.

³³⁶ Goyon, *Rituels Funéraires*, p. 148 (parfum de fête); Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*, p. 146; Hassan, *Giza* VI.2, p. 241; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas* 5, fig. 30 and p. 37, 2.44.

³³⁷ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 15 – tomb of Rahotep and Neferet; Hassan, *Giza* VI.2, pp. 241–243; Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 38.

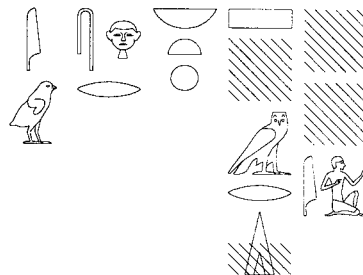
The right part of the register depicts the selling of fish.³⁴⁰ The seller is sitting to the right of the basket full of fish called *bgj* of the family mugulidae (the mullet).³⁴¹ This sort of fish is presumably the only species depicted in local market scenes.³⁴² The seller is depicted eviscerating one of the fish offered on sale. He is approached by a woman from the left. She is wearing a long tunic with a strap going over her left shoulder, holding a fish in her left and carrying a basket on her right shoulder.

The text elucidating the scene has unfortunately been heavily damaged; the reading of the remaining portion of the inscriptions remains far from certain. The speech by the seller has almost completely faded so that the only remaining sign

is that of . It can be only supposed that the caption originally comprised a statement like *jmj jst.t r mhjt zwnt* – “give me your thing (in exchange) for my fish as a price!”³⁴³

The left part of the inscription is preserved much better; nevertheless its beginning remains unclear:

6. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1.



...*j...š...m. Rdj(.j) nbt hr sjw?*

“...and I give you (as a compensation) (2.) a basket? (3.) for the accusation.³⁴⁴” (4.–6.)

³³⁸ Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* I, p. 135, 55 IIb; II, p. 121.

³³⁹ Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig.43.

³⁴⁰ On the fishing in the Old Kingdom see Elsbergen, *Fischerei*, Brewer, Friedman, *Fish and fishing* and Sahrhage, *Fischfang und Fischkult*.




³⁴¹ On the mugulidae fish see Edel, Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs* II, pp. 155–163; Brewer, Friedman, *Fish and fishing*, pp. 72–73; Ikram, *Choice Cuts*, p. 39; Sahrhage, *Fischfang und Fischkult*, pp. 62–66.

³⁴² Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938): pl. 96; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, fig.10; Hodjash, Berlev, *AfO* 7 (1980): pl. 3; Brewer, Friedman, *Fish and fishing*, pp. 72–73.

³⁴³ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, p. 81, Sz.11.2.2.

³⁴⁴ *Wb* IV, 34.3–4.

1) The word *nbt* remains a bit curious. It seems that it could be interpreted during the Old Kingdom as an otherwise unattested graphic form for the word “basket” determined with the sign painted green, as well as the other vegetable signs documented by the Lepsius expedition in the tomb of Fetekty (like *k* and *h*).³⁴⁵ The more commonly attested graphic forms for “basket”

were:   or simply .³⁴⁶

Third register

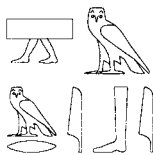
As in the previous cases, also this register is divided into two scenes. In the left half of the register there is a fish seller sitting at his basket. The basket is supported by a low stand. The upper edge of the basket runs parallel to its rounded lower part. The fish in the basket are already eviscerated and the seller stretches his left hand out towards the coming shopper, whereas his right hand touches the edge of the basket with the fish. The shopper, a woman in a long tunic fastened by means of a broad strap over her right shoulder, carries a basket on her left shoulder. Her outstretched right hand is slightly bent and points towards the seller. The labels above their heads are only slightly damaged and can be, with a small degree of uncertainty, reconstructed. The speech by the fish seller:



[*mt*], [*jzw*] *hr.s*

“Look, (this is) the price for it!”

And the shopper replies:



šm, (*j*)*m(j)-r Jbj*

“Come (here), overseer (1) Ibi!”³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ *Wb* II, 227.1; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 400.

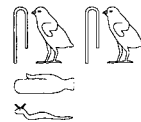
³⁴⁶ For the shorter form see *PT* 1770c.

³⁴⁷ Well-attested personal name during the Old Kingdom, Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 20.10.

1) The term “overseer” probably applies to the man at the far right of the register. There is no direct expression occurring in the market scenes to designate the overseer of the market, but there were presumably persons who were responsible for the keeping of law and order at the markets. Sometimes they are depicted as persons with baboon(s) on the lead, sometimes attacking a petty thief.³⁴⁸ In one case (the tomb of Djadjamankh) the official is holding a long stick with a hand at the end, probably a mark of his authority.

In the tomb of Niankhnun and Khnumhotep, there is indirect evidence that the market overseer was presumably designed simply as an (*j*)*m(j)-r*.³⁴⁹ The scene portrays a man with a baboon on the lead. He is addressed by the vendor because the baboon is stealing some vegetable from the basket. The vendor shouts: “*O Bursche, der den Vorsteher spielt, willst du, daß man für Dich seinen Herrn holt?*” According to Altenmüller, the man holding the baboon is only temporarily supervising the animal whose overseer is catching a thief further to the right. The expression applied for the designation of the overseer is (*j*)*m(j)-r*. In several instances, the title of overseer occurs without further denotation and stands isolated.³⁵⁰

The shopper continues in accusation and addresses the overseer of the market:



swdf sw

“Keep him back!”³⁵¹

In front of the shopper her name is written – Minmeret.³⁵² There are two more male persons engaged in a debate on the right: one is the overseer of the market. Unlike the other male depictions at the market, the overseer is not wearing a tight-fitting short kilt, but a rather longer kilt with a triangular front piece. His attitude is quite distinct from the others, for he is depicted pas-

³⁴⁸ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnun und Chnumhotep*, fig. 10; Hassan *ASAE* 38 (1938): pl. 46; CG 1556 – Borchardt, *Denkmäler des AR II*, pp. 17–18; Bl.61.

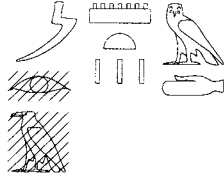
³⁴⁹ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnun und Chnumhotep*, p. 81, Sz.11.2.1.

³⁵⁰ Paget, Pirie, *Ptahhotep*, pl. 35.

³⁵¹ *Wb* IV, 78.4, as a causative form attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards.

³⁵² Ranke, *Personennamen* I, p. 159.1.

sively – standing and watching the scene in front of him whereas other persons are taking an active part in the market. The overseer is approached by a shopper with a shopping bag across his left shoulder. He holds a kind of tube in his left and a string with three fishhooks in his right.³⁵³ The overseer says:



m33, mnt m d[t](.j)

“Look³⁵⁴, the bad³⁵⁵ (deal, i.e. the cheat) is in (my) hand (i.e. ‘under my control’)!”

The label above the shopper (?) is unfortunately almost completely missing:



rdj m

“Give, like/as...”

The caption behind the shopper refers to the objects he is holding in his left, e.g. to hooks



hanging loosely on the string: *sn^cht*, “fish-hook.”³⁵⁶ This type of fishhooks without barbs was quite common during the Old Kingdom. The hooks were usually made of copper³⁵⁷ and the group of hooks was used in fishing.³⁵⁸

If one tabulates the most obviously bartered commodities on the Old Kingdom markets (as based on testimony of the tomb reliefs), one can see that most frequently offered items on the sale were as follows: fish, vegetables and fruits, perfumed oil and presumably also grain.³⁵⁹ In payment, in most instances items like beer jars with

some content, vessels, baskets, fans, beads and oils were accepted.³⁶⁰ Thus items offered for selling, are typical agricultural products. The commodities offered in return as payment by the vendors can be divided into two parts: objects manufactured in the local workshops and natural items received as wages by the workmen.³⁶¹ These features clearly attest to the *raison d'être* of the markets and two identifiable components of the society: peasants as sellers and artisans and workmen as shoppers. Interestingly, the men in the tomb of Fetekty are depicted both as sellers and customers whereas women occur always only as shoppers.³⁶² It should be also remarked that the detailed market scenes were placed in the tomb of Fetekty by no chance since it is possible that they depict the mechanism, showing how part of the funerary equipment for his tomb was obtained.³⁶³

3.4.1.1.4.2 Northern face

This wall of the pillar (the length of the registers: 0.65 m, the height: 0.36 m), together with the eastern wall, features in one of the oldest motifs occurring on the walls of tomb chapels: wildlife in the desert and desert hunting scenes, arranged in three registers.³⁶⁴

Top register

It is only partly preserved. It depicts an animal turned over on his back and attacked by a dog who is biting the animal's throat. There is a man sitting on the right, holding the dog on a lead. According to his slender body and the typical short raised tail the dog could be a greyhound called in Egyptian texts *t_{sm}* (*Canis familiaris*).³⁶⁵

Second register

The register contains typical desert scenes with a silhouette of a small dog (a mastiff?³⁶⁶) on the extreme left, four heads of striped hyenas in the

³⁵³ In the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep there is a similar shopper, carrying a shopping bag and a small blade and three hooks in his hands – Altenmüller, Moussa, *Niankhnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 10, Sz.11.3.3.

³⁵⁴ For this shorter form of the obvious imperative see Edel, *Altäg. Grammatik* I, p. 291, §601; 371, §739.

³⁵⁵ See *Wb* II, 67.12.

³⁵⁶ *Wb* IV, 157.2.

³⁵⁷ Brewer, Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, p. 26; 27, fig. 2.8.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28, fig. 2.9 – the tomb of Idut at Saqqara; Roth, *Giza Mastabas* 6, fig. 185, tomb 2097 – tomb of Tjezet.

³⁵⁹ See Bárta, *SAK* 26 (1998): 31–32, tab. 1.

³⁶⁰ For some of these commodities used as a payment for craftsmen see Müller-Wollermann, *SAKB* 4 (1991): 163.

³⁶¹ From the contemporary sources we are informed that workmen employed in the building of non-royal tombs had often been paid in bread and beer (kept in beer jars) – see Müller-Wollermann, *JESHO* 28 (1991): 143–144.

³⁶² Eyre, in Grimal, Menu, eds., *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, p. 175.

³⁶³ See Bárta, *SAK* 26 (1998): 32–34.

³⁶⁴ Vandier, *Manuel* IV, pp. 787–802; Altenmüller, *LÄ* III (1980), cols. 224–230.

³⁶⁵ Boessneck, *Tierwelt*, pp. 83–85; Brewer, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 116–117; Osborn, *Mammals*, pp. 57–64.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67 and p. 60, figs. 7–19 and 7–20.

foreground (*Hyaena hyaena*) facing left and with an additional hyena facing right.³⁶⁷ They are set in a hilly landscape with some vegetation. In the background there is a herd of gazelles, from the left to the right probably the horse antelope (*Hippotragus equinus*),³⁶⁸ *Gazelle sommeringi*³⁶⁹ and the dorcas gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*).³⁷⁰ In the upper left corner there is probably another recumbent hyena.

Third register

There is depicted probably a wild donkey (*Equus asinus africanus*) that is urged along by two men.³⁷¹ Only one pair of legs in front and one pair behind the animal is preserved, indicating two male figures involved in supervising the animal.

3.4.1.1.4.3 Eastern face

Three lowermost registers are preserved. Its length may be estimated being 0.80 m and the height of individual registers about 0.36 m.

Top register

It is partly damaged. In the centre of the scene, there is a herd of dorcas gazelles situated in a hilly landscape with another gazelle (?) resting on the ground behind them.³⁷²

Second register

There is depicted lassoing of three aurochs bulls (*Bos primigenius*)³⁷³ and a Nubian ibex³⁷⁴ resting behind them. The aurochs have been lassoed by a single man depicted running and holding a rope with a single loop around his right wrist.

Third register

The landscape here strongly resembles the previous scene. The morphology of the hillocks and even some minute details of the vegetation spurs and the recumbent Nubian ibex seem to be almost identical. The only difference appears in the three heads of hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus*) that are being lassoed by a man on the right.³⁷⁵

3.4.1.1.5 Western part of the north wall (fig. 3.18)

The decoration of the northern wall is only partly preserved and is represented by two registers with motifs of cattle being herded and tended. This decoration covered the section of the wall extending from the half pillar further to the west. Thus the length of the registers can be estimated at 1.02 m and their height at 0.33 (the lower register) and 0.34 m (the upper register). Above the top register there are still the remains of the water course which probably was part of another cattle herding scene, showing the driving of the cattle through the ford.

Top register

The register consists of the left and right parts which are relatively independent depicting the birth of a calf and milking of a cow. There is a cow on the left giving birth to a calf and one male figure at her back assisting at the birth. The herdsman is leaning his left leg against the left back leg of the cow in order to gain better stability and strength in pulling out the calf. There is another herdsman in front of the cow, holding her horns firmly. The inscription above the scene is for the most part damaged and can be only tentatively reconstructed:



jn [jɛ(j) n.k rnp] pw

“Surely,³⁷⁶ I am taking this young one³⁷⁷ (from you)!”³⁷⁸

The following phrase continues the speech of the herdsman assisting at the birth, shouting at the cow:



jr wrt r bh[s pn]

“Make strongly concerning this calf!”

The last sentence has probably to be understood like: “Strongly push out this calf!” by which the herdsman addresses the cow. To the left of the herdsman holding the horns of the cow there are two signs reading probably [(j)r(j)]-(j)ht – assistant?

³⁶⁷ Paton, *Animals*, 23–24.94; Boessneck, *Tierwelt*, fig. 54.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 25; Osborn, *Mammals*, pp. 168–170.

³⁶⁹ Paton, *Animals*, 15.51; Osborn, *Mammals*, pp. 179–180.

³⁷⁰ Boessneck, *Tierwelt*, figs. 21 and 39; Osborn, *Mammals*, pp. 175–177.

³⁷¹ Boessneck, *Tierwelt*, pp. 78–79.

³⁷² Paton, *Animals*, 11.39.

³⁷³ Osborn, *Mammals*, pp. 194–196.

³⁷⁴ Paton, *Animals*, 11.41.


³⁷⁵ Osborn, *Mammals*, pp. 171–173.

³⁷⁶ For the translation of this proclitic particle as “fürwahr” see Edel, *Altäg. Grammatik* II, p. 422, § 843. Montet, *Scènes de la vie*, p. 108 translates it as a particle introducing a question.

³⁷⁷ *Wb* II, 434.14–20.

³⁷⁸ For the similar phrase see Épron, Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 124.

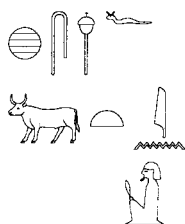
In the right half of the register there is a milking scene. There is only part of a cow preserved. The cow is standing with its back legs tied up with a rope. She is being milked by two herdsman and the milk is collected into a large pottery jar below her udder. The caption above the scene is almost destroyed, nevertheless it can be quite easily reconstructed according to many parallels as follows:

 *sšr jrjt* "milking."³⁷⁹

Second register

It consists of three pastoral scenes.³⁸⁰ There is one main scene comprising the right and middle third of the register. On the left, there are two subsidiary scenes arranged in two rows above each other.

The central scene depicts driving off of a calf. The cow is beaten by two herdsman standing in front and behind her. The herdsman are portrayed with typical baldness and are equipped with sticks for driving off the cow. The caption relating to this scene is placed above the head and behind the right herdsman:



hsf jht jn nr


"Driving off the cow³⁸¹ by the herdsman."³⁸²

The caption above the left herdsman reads from the right to the left:




hw(j)t hmt

"Beating of the cow (1)."³⁸³

1) There is a fault in the word for the cow but it is hard to decide whether the interchange of the sign for *nw* with the sign for *hm*  results from the original copy or the misunderstanding by the copyist in the 19th century.

In the lower left corner of the register there is depicted one head of a hornless bovid with a mat

over its back, protecting the calf from the sunshine.³⁸⁴ The calf is drinking from a large bowl. The caption above, again, specifies the portrayed

activity:  *zwj* "drinking". The writing of the *zwj* form of the verb *zwr* "to drink" is usually said to be first attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards. However, the occurrence of this word is no unique phenomenon by the end of the Fifth Dynasty, even as another Middle Kingdom form for the verb *sšr* "to milk" occurs also in the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep dated to this period as well.³⁸⁵

The last scene of this register is situated immediately above the preceding one. There are two heads of hornless cattle in an antithetic position, fastened to a wooden post. Both the left as well as the right calf is fastened by his left leg. The caption above them reads as follows:



j3^c bhzw hr s3w

"Alluring³⁸⁶ (?) the calves into the herd (?)."³⁸⁷

It is plausible that the plural writing of the sign *s3* stands for the variant of the word for phyle, group or the like, the forms of which usually take the plural forms.³⁸⁸

3.4.1.1.6 Eastern part of the north wall

(fig. 3.18)

There are only a few traces preserved of the original painted decoration on this part of the court walls. The length of the whole amounts to 1.06 m. There are traces of three registers arranged horizontally. The whole height of the preserved registers reaches 1.13 m. Given the theme of the middle and the top register, it is probable that registers read in bottom – top direction.

Lower register

This register was documented in 1991. It is impossible to determine the proper height of the register and we can only guess that it was similar to those on the half pillar and on the western part of the

³⁷⁹ Montet, *Scènes de la vie*, pp. 107–108.

³⁸⁰ For the previous publications of the inscriptions in this register see *ibid.*, p. 103; Erman, *Reden*, p. 32.

³⁸¹ *Wb* I, 120.5.

³⁸² For the reading of the word see Montet, *Scènes de la vie*, 99–102; Épron, Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 124; *Wb* II, 279.1. For its graphic forms see now Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 177–179.

³⁸³ *Wb* III, 76.1–5.

³⁸⁴ Brewer, Redford, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, p. 84.

³⁸⁵ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Niankhnum und Khnumhotep*, p. 154, Sz.33.B.2.3.; pl.76.

³⁸⁶ *Wb* I, 27.16 – "Verbum (Behandlung von Kälbern)"; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 22 – "locken".

³⁸⁷ *Wb* III, 413.5 – "mit Bezug auf Vieh : Herde? Hürde?"

³⁸⁸ *Wb* III, 413.6.

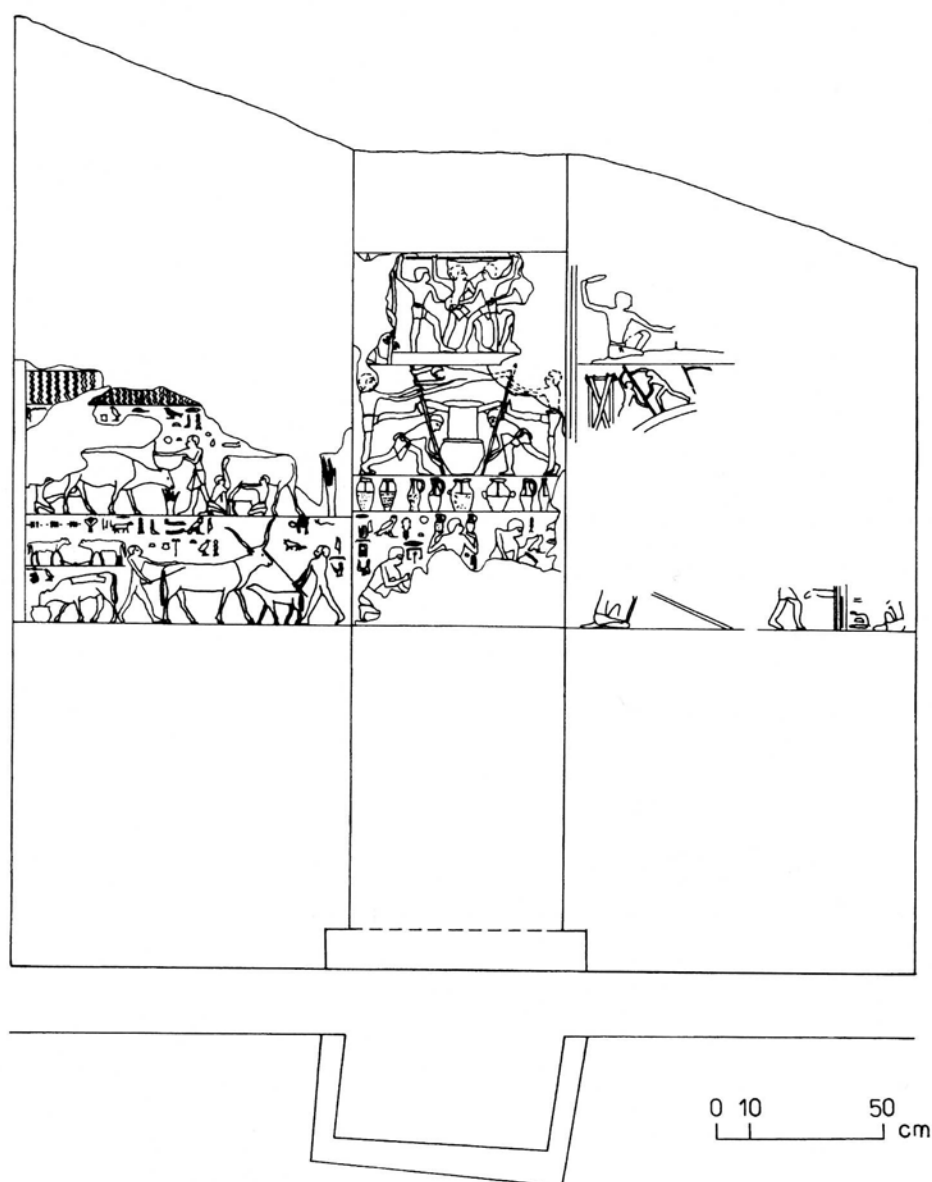


Fig. 3.18 – Fetekty, reconstruction of the original north wall decoration

northern wall (about 0.33 – 0.46 m). The register consists of two scenes from the carpenters' workshop.³⁸⁹ On the left, there is a seated man wearing a short kilt who is engaged in sanding down a wooden bed.³⁹⁰ Immediately to the right stands another man who saws a board that is bound vertically with ropes to a small post.³⁹¹ He is assisted by a man squatting to the right of the board. Both are wearing short kilts. To the left of the board there are remains of a caption: ...*dt* probably refer-

ring to the funerary estate. What makes this scene rather atypical in this context is that it is depicted below two registers showing the preparation of flax for linen production (see below). In most cases, the scenes of the carpenters' workshops are part of the scenes including the production of statues, metal workers, jewellers and the like.³⁹²

Second register

There is no clear separating line between the lowermost and the second register. This middle register together with the uppermost preserved one

³⁸⁹ For similar scenes see Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 29–30; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pl. 62–63; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas 5*, pl. 13 and fig. 30.

³⁹⁰ For this very type of bed see Quibell, *Hesyt*, pl. 19; Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*.

³⁹¹ For a similar scene see, for instance, Weeks, *Giza Mastabas 5*, fig. 30 (G 6020, tomb of Iymery).

³⁹² Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 29–30; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 62–63; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas 5*, pl. 13 and fig. 30; LD II, pl. 13.

³⁹³ Brewer, Redford, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 34–38.

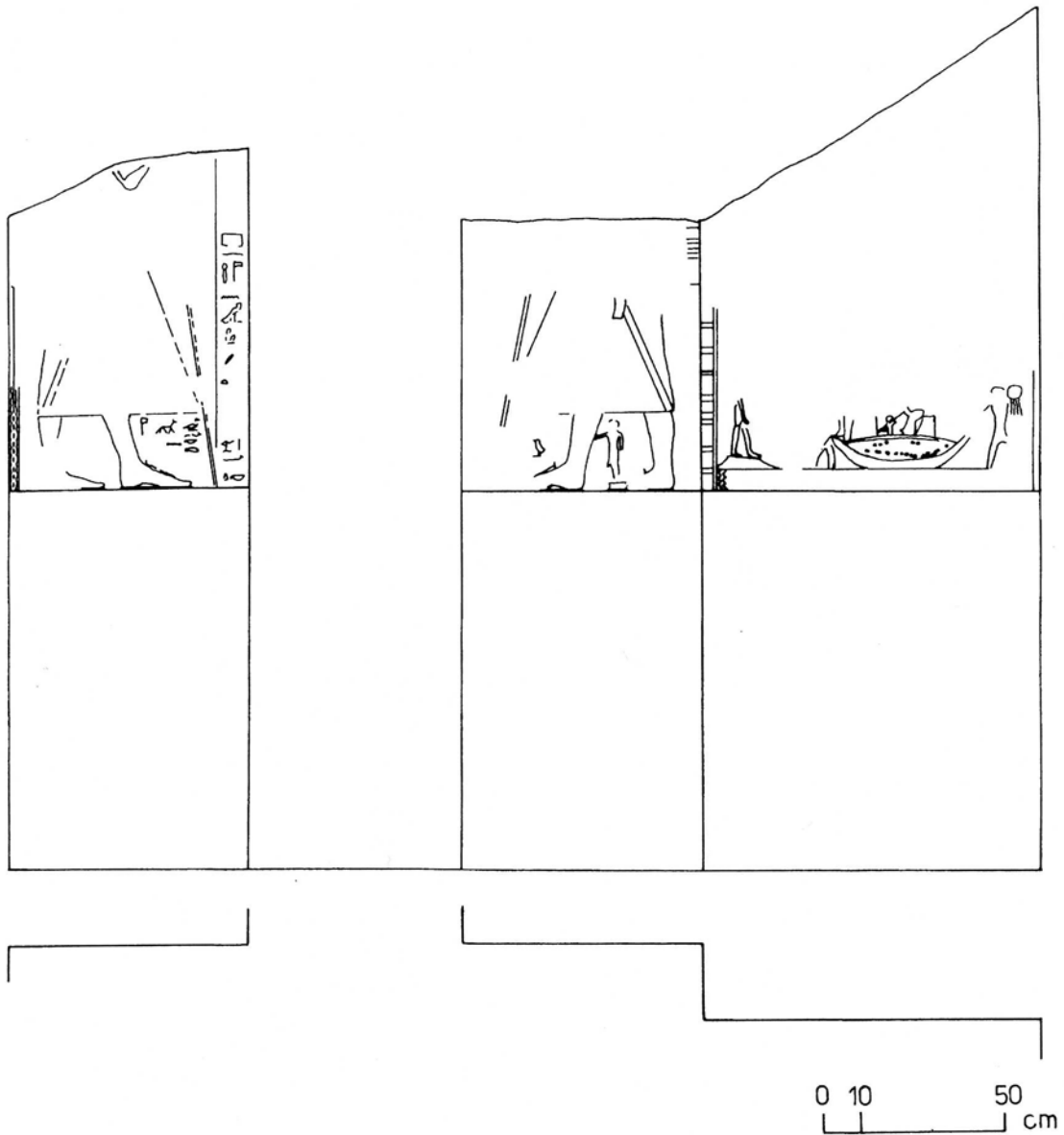


Fig. 3.19 – Fetekty, reconstruction of the original south wall decoration

relate to two stages in the production of linen.³⁹³ The painting in the middle register is preserved only in its upper left corner. There are three men engaged in wringing of the flax fibres by means of wooden sticks.³⁹⁴ Further to the left there is a wooden construction consisting of two vertical poles with forks at their upper ends and with a horizontal wooden plank on the top of them. Diagonally across the frame there are stretched two bundles of drying flax. This scene looks quite unusual since in most cases the flax stalks were tied in loose bundles to ripen in the sun.³⁹⁵ It

seems that the register reads from the right to the left and that it was preceded by a scene depicting the steeping of flax stalks in a pool.³⁹⁶

Third register

This register records another step in the production of the linen. Only the figure of one squatting man in the left part of the register is preserved. He is beating the flax. He holds a sort of mallet in his right raised hand whereas his left hand is fixing flax placed on a low platform (conceivably a stone slab).

³⁹⁴ For similar depictions see *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 4 (Tomb XV) and pl. 13 (Tomb XVII).

³⁹⁵ Brewer, Redford, Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, p. 35.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

3.4.1.1.7 South wall (fig. 3.19)

The wall is 0.93 m long and only the lower half of the lowermost register is preserved. The bottom of the register starts at a height of about 1.05 m and represents a schematized water surface. There is a papyrus fishing boat in the middle loaded with a large sein (?) and two sacks with fish. The boat is being hauled by two naked men standing on respective sides of the boat. On the extreme left there is another man wearing a short kilt and standing on the shore in the form of a low mound.

3.4.1.1.8 Entrance into the corridor chapel (fig. 3.19)

The entrance into the chapel is designed as a 1.90 m wide and 0.22 m deep recess giving access into the corridor chapel. The entrance leading further to the south is 0.60 m wide and is situated approximately in the middle of this wall. The entrance is flanked on each side by equally long (0.66 m) jambs depicting the owner of the tomb, Fetekty, in a standing attitude. The decoration started at a height of about 1.05 m.

On the eastern jamb, the figure of Fetekty was preserved to a height of 0.94 m. He wears a long pointed kilt with a diagonally running stripe and sandals. The lower half of his long staff is still discernible. The western end of this scene ended in a vertical band with a partly preserved inscription: *pr n ntr ʿ3 n(?) m(?).....Ftkjtj*. At his left leg there is another incompletely preserved caption referring to a son of Fetekty called *K(3.j)mn(.j)?*,³⁹⁷ *z3b ntr (?)*.

The figure on the western jamb was preserved to a height of 0.60 m. It is almost a mirror-like image of the previous figure of Fetekty. He is dressed in the same manner, his left hand along his body, his right hand holding a long staff. Between his legs there is a small standing figure of a naked boy, probably his eldest son referred to in the previous caption.

3.4.1.1.9 Corridor leading into the chapel

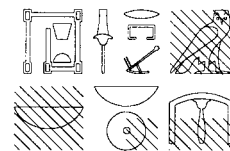
According to a brief note by Lepsius, on the western wall there was depicted a colossal granite seated statue of Fetekty receiving offerings. In addition to this, Lepsius mentions two bird cages with birds inside and two women in short skirts.³⁹⁸ There were no traces of this decoration preserved on the walls of the corridor.

3.4.2 Excavation of the tomb

3.4.2.1 Superstructure

The tomb of Fetekty was relocated by the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology in the late 1980s and properly excavated in the 1991/1992 season (19. 11.– 22. 12. 1991).³⁹⁹ The tomb is situated on the southern slope of a hillock about 700 m to the northwest of the mastaba of Ty (pl. XXXVc). The tomb consists of a pillared court, corridor chapel, serdab and two shafts with burial chambers. It had an oblong, approximately north-south oriented ground plan measuring 14.30 x 7.30 m with its long axis shifted to the southwest. Since the tomb was built on the southern slope of the hill, its southernmost part (corridor chapel) suffered much damage from denudation caused both by rain and wind erosion. The tomb, being situated almost on the floor of the *wadi* descending from the Western desert to the area of cultivation, suffered from water that occasionally ran down this valley to the east, too (pl. XXXVIa).

The core of the masonry was built of dark mud-bricks which were cased with dressed, small blocks of local limestone. The entrance into the tomb was placed near the north end of its eastern front and led directly into the pillared court. At the northeast corner of the tomb a fragment was found from the entrance lintel with a drum and another limestone fragment from it containing two horizontal lines of the following inscription (0.36 x 0.30 m, Excav. No. 1/BB/91, pl. XXXVIb):⁴⁰⁰



...(j)m(j)-r *pr-šn*^c, *hrp wsht*...

...*hb nb*, *r*^c [*nb*]...

"...Overseer of the magazines, inspector of the *wsht* hall,

...on every feast, every day..."

Both titles make perfect sense since they refer to exactly the same sort of duties: duties connected with the collecting and supervising of the temple offerings. The inscribed fragment from the drum indicates that it must originally have been placed above the entrance into the tomb.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁹ Verner, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), *passim*.

⁴⁰⁰ For the entrance lintels see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 44–48.

⁴⁰¹ *Idem*, p. 48 – the interior drums had usually been left uninscribed.

³⁹⁷ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 340.2.

³⁹⁸ *LD Text*, p. 141.

One more badly damaged fragment found in the windblown sand layer at the entrance into the tomb probably originates from the false door of Fetekty since Mety's false door was completely preserved and since the incised hieroglyphs occurring in this tomb were reserved only for the decoration of the false doors. The fragment was part of a column with incised inscription reading from the right to the left; originating probably from the right side of the false door:

...[jm3h_w] hr ntr ʕ, (j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt, F[tk_{tj}]...

"...well-provided before the Great God, the property custodian of the king, Fetekty."

3.4.2.1.1 Court

The court had an irregular plan measuring 3.54 m and 3.05 m on its northern and southern sides respectively, and of 2.89 m in the north-south direction. The walls of the court still reach a height of 3.20 m (pl. XXXVIIa). The court had originally been covered with a flat roof which was supported by a central pillar (0.78 × 0.78 m, preserved to a height of 2.20 m) in the middle of the room, and by a half pillar abutting on the north wall of the court.⁴⁰² The roofing blocks, however, had been removed in antiquity and there are no more traces of them. Both pillars were built of small blocks of limestone and stood on small, 0.20 m high bases. Since the outer south wall of the tomb of Hetepi (which abuts the court of Fetekty) provided no stable platform for the northern end of the lintel, the half pillar at the north wall was probably built in order to provide a solid platform for the lintel of the roofing construction. These – probably two – lintels were presumably put across the court in a south-north direction so that they rested on the south wall of the court, on the central pillar and on the northern half pillar. The limestone roofing blocks were then put across them in an east-west direction. The walls of the court were built at varying angles, the west wall being almost perpendicular, whereas the south wall had an angle of 81–83°30', the east wall 87°40' and the north wall about 85 degrees.

The walls of the court were plastered and whitewashed and they once bore beautifully painted scenes. Since their first discovery by Lepsius, however, almost all of them have faded, except for

tiny fragments discovered in the filling and on the walls of the room (pls. XXXVIIb – XXXVIIIa). The filling of the room consisted of very fine drift sand which filled the room after Lepsius had left the room open entirely exposed to wind and rain. That Lepsius did not clear the pillared court down to the bottom is indicated by the layer of floor deposits consisting of dark sand with articulated mudbricks and lumps of limestone. The clearing of the debris from the room probably came to a halt at the point when the frescoes on the walls stopped.

Nevertheless, the Czech expedition was able to document some scanty remains of the original painted decoration on the walls of the court. These traces – without exception – are limited to the lowermost registers of the decoration, starting in all cases about 1.00 m above the floor of the court. The following new evidence for preserved scenes in the tomb gives a sad picture of what has remained of the original decoration, contrasting with that which had been seen by Lepsius.

Eastern wall, to the north of the entrance

(fig. 3.13)

The lower parts of two women proceeding to the north are preserved on this wall. They are both wearing white long tunics. The first person has raised arms, probably holding some items of the funerary equipment, the second one has her left hand hanging loosely along the body whereas the right arm is raised. There are remains of inscriptions between them:jr[jt] zp "assistant of the service (?)."⁴⁰³

Northern wall, to the east of the halfpillar

(fig. 3.18)

The register consists of two parts. On the right side there are two men sawing a wooden beam fixed vertically.⁴⁰⁴ The men are wearing short kilts. The rest of inscription reads:...dt. The left part of the register depicts a single squatting man engaged in preparing of the wooden bed for funerary equipment. He is dressed in the same short kilt as the previous two workmen.

⁴⁰² The earliest attestations of half-pillars date to the Early Dynastic period and come from Abydos – Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, pls. 62–63 (Djet); 64, 1–5 (Djet, Merneith); 65 (Merneith and Andjib); Arnold, *LÄ IV* (1982), col. 1008.

⁴⁰³ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 152 – translates a similar expression: *m zp* as "en exercice/en service."

⁴⁰⁴ For similar scenes see Épron, Wild, *Ti II*, pl. 129; Dunham, Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 1*, fig. 5 and pl. 5a–b; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nefer and Kahay*, pl. 20; Weeks, *Giza Mastabas 5*, fig. 30 (tomb G 6020 – Iymeri).

Eastern face of the half-pillar

Only the lower parts of three male figures striding to the north are preserved on the eastern face. These three carriers are to be associated with the decoration published by Lepsius. Therefore, it may be supposed that there were altogether three persons involved in transporting of the milk in small jugs.

Southern face of the half-pillar

Two white painted bases of flat-bottomed jars on the extreme right of the register and a foot of the man pouring the wine into them (see the documentation by Lepsius) are preserved on the southern face.

Eastern wall, to the south of the entrance

The lower register starts at a height of 1.05 m. There is almost nothing that has survived of the original procession of offering bearers, except for the legs of three (male) persons proceeding to the south.

Furthermore, at the half-pillar there were found two beer jars on the floor, one still containing red pigment that had been used by an anonymous artist responsible for some naïve drawings. These consisted of several sketches or preliminary drawings made in red colour on a lower yellow field of the decoration of both the pillar and half-pillar:

Half-pillar

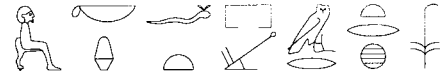
east wall – *hpr* sign, two quails, two faces of lionesses;
south wall – figure of a lioness;

Pillar

south wall – two birds, floral motifs (?);
west wall – leg of a running person (?);
north wall – head of a donkey, an owl, head of a lioness (?).

That these sketches are secondary is testified by their position within the yellow field of the tomb decoration. They bear no relation to the original decoration program of the tomb.

The floor of the court was made of beaten clay. In the south wall there was a wide recess (1.90 m in width and 0.20 m in depth) with an entrance into an L-shaped corridor chapel. According to Lepsius, it was above this entrance where the drum with one line of inscription containing the titles and the name of Fetekty was originally placed. Lepsius' expedition had found the drum still *in situ*. The drum, however, was missing in 1991.



(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt, (j)m(j)-r pr-šn^c, Ftkty

“Property custodian of the king, overseer of the magazines, Fetekty.”

There were also found three displaced blocks with painted decoration in the filling of the court:

Loose block 1

(fig. 3.20 and pls. XXXVIIIb, LXXXIVa)

0.80–0.86 × 0.32 m.

Remains of a male figure (Fetekty?) in the middle of the block: the man is facing to the right and he wears a pointed kilt. He is leaning on a staff held in his left hand; in his right hand he is holding a handkerchief. Below his bent left arm is an inscription which reads: *z3f smsw Ftkty* – “his eldest son, Fetekty.” Behind the male figure, the head of another male figure is preserved. He is holding a pole – it is the punting pole propelling the skiff – and facing backwards. The caption above his head reads: *...dj(w) (‘nh?)*, *snb n pr-dt* – “...given (life?), health of the funerary estate.” Despite the fragmentary state of the scene and given the composition preserved on the block, it seems feasible that the block is part of a pleasure-cruise scene on the boat. The tomb owner, Fetekty, is depicted in a standing attitude travelling on a papyrus skiff in the papyrus thicket or the like (probably with his son).⁴⁰⁵ As far as the original position of the block is concerned, it seems that the only possible place of its origin can be one of the walls of the corridor chapel.

Loose block 2 and 3

– for their discussion see above pp. 88–89.

3.4.2.1.2 Chapel

The chapel was entered from the south wall of the pillared court by means of a short, 0.80 m long and 0.60 m wide corridor after which followed a small vestibule measuring 1.10 × 1.00 m. The chapel itself (Reisner's Type 5a⁴⁰⁶) was 7.73 m long and 0.80 m wide and its floor was paved with limestone flagging stones. The filling of the chapel consisted of sand mixed with limestone debris from the disintegrated tomb casing, together with the Old Kingdom sherds.

In the filling of the chapel, above the floor level

⁴⁰⁵ LD II, pls. 60 and 77, for the summary see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 140–141.

⁴⁰⁶ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 185 and 256.

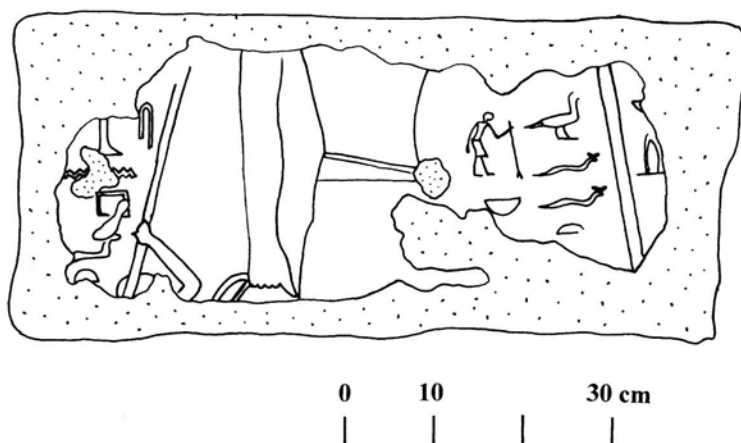


Fig. 3.20 – Loose block 1 discovered in 1991

were found scattered 12 tiny fragments of a red granite male statue (Excav. No. 2/BB/91, the biggest fragment [2a] was 0.15 m high, 0.17 m wide and 0.05 m in thickness).⁴⁰⁷ The only two identifiable fragments (Excav. Nos. 2a, c/BB/91) show a torso preserved from above the waist up to the neck, with a part of the right arm preserved (pls. XLa–b). The beautifully executed statue originally probably portrayed a seated man with his left arm placed flat on his leg. Contemporary parallels, such as the statues of Sekhemka,⁴⁰⁸ Nikara⁴⁰⁹ or the vizier Ptahshepses,⁴¹⁰ show that the statue may have originally been about 0.46–0.55 m high, seated on a cubed backless seat, the right hand perhaps grasping a handkerchief and the left hand laid flat on the knee. This statue might have come from the serdab of the tomb.

Another possibility could be that the statue was placed in the court of the tomb as a recipient for offerings.⁴¹¹ This hypothesis finds its support in the decoration referred to by Lepsius, who mentions that on the western wall of the corridor leading into the chapel there was a painting of his granite statue receiving offerings.⁴¹²

The walls of the chapel were originally plas-

tered and painted in the same manner as the pillared court. However, only scanty remains of this decoration have survived to date. The preserved height of the chapel decreases considerably to the south. The northern part of the chapel has been preserved to a height of about 2.20 m, whereas the southern part does not exceed 1.25 m. It means that this section of the chapel had been denuded nearly down to the dado painted on the walls of the chapel.

East wall (fig. 3.21, pl. LXXXVa)

From the decoration placed originally on the eastern wall, only traces of the lowermost register (starting at a height of about 0.97 m above the floor of the chapel) have been preserved. The lowermost register depicted a procession of animals driven by the male figures oriented to the south. The register was 0.28 m high and some traces of another register are still discernible above it. This second register was also about 0.28 m high. The subject of this register cannot be determined with certainty any more.

Lowermost register

There is preserved only the beginning and the end of the procession of cattle assisted by the typically naked herdsmen. This is the pattern preserved on the wall (proceeding northwards):

0 – 1.70 m – not preserved

1.70 – 3.90 m a partially preserved animal is followed by a naked male person, a man holding another animal on a lead which is followed by a man wearing a short kilt. There follows another naked man holding an animal on a lead which is followed by a naked male. This preserved section is terminated by a man holding a spotted cow on

⁴⁰⁷ For the use of red granite for non-royal statuary during the Old Kingdom see De Putter, Karlshausen, *Pierres utilisées*, pp. 83–84. For the material see Klemm, Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche*, pp. 325–327, 448, pls. 10.1–10.4.

⁴⁰⁸ Ziegler, *Statues*, No. 35 (E 3021), pp. 128–130 (height 0.46 m, width 0.13 m) and No. 36 (E 3022), pp. 131–133 (height 0.55 m, width 0.15 m).

⁴⁰⁹ *Egyptian Art*, No. 128, p. 372, height 0.52 m.

⁴¹⁰ Patočková, *Statue fragments*, A 119 (893) and C 946 (1496), pp. 72–73, pl. 12, height of the statue 0.45 m, shoulder width 0.22 m, cubed seat: height 0.22 m, width: 0.18 m.

⁴¹¹ Bárta, *Ä&L* 10 (2000): 60–61.

⁴¹² *LD Text*, p. 141.

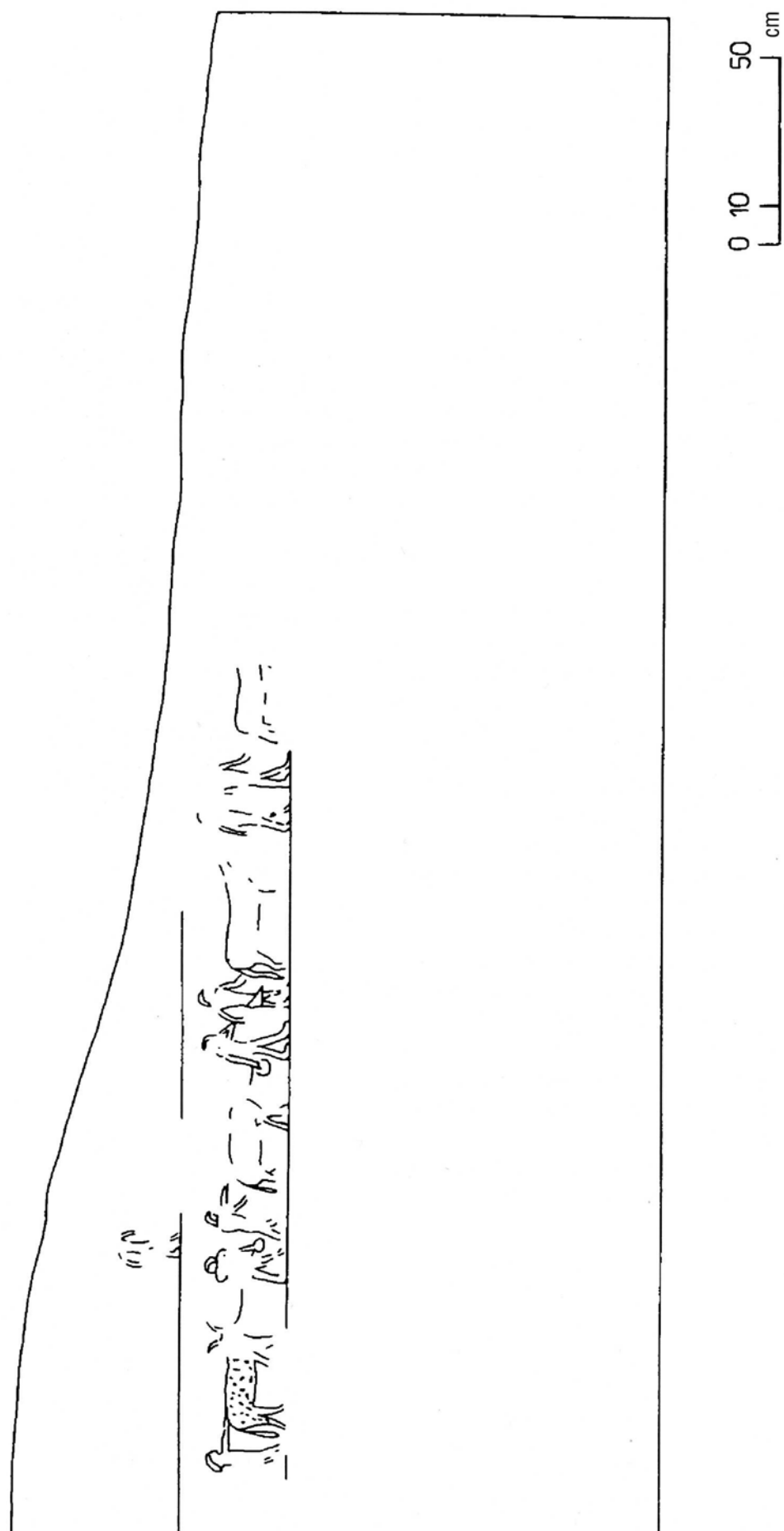


Fig. 3.21 – East wall decoration in the chapel of Fetekty (southern part)

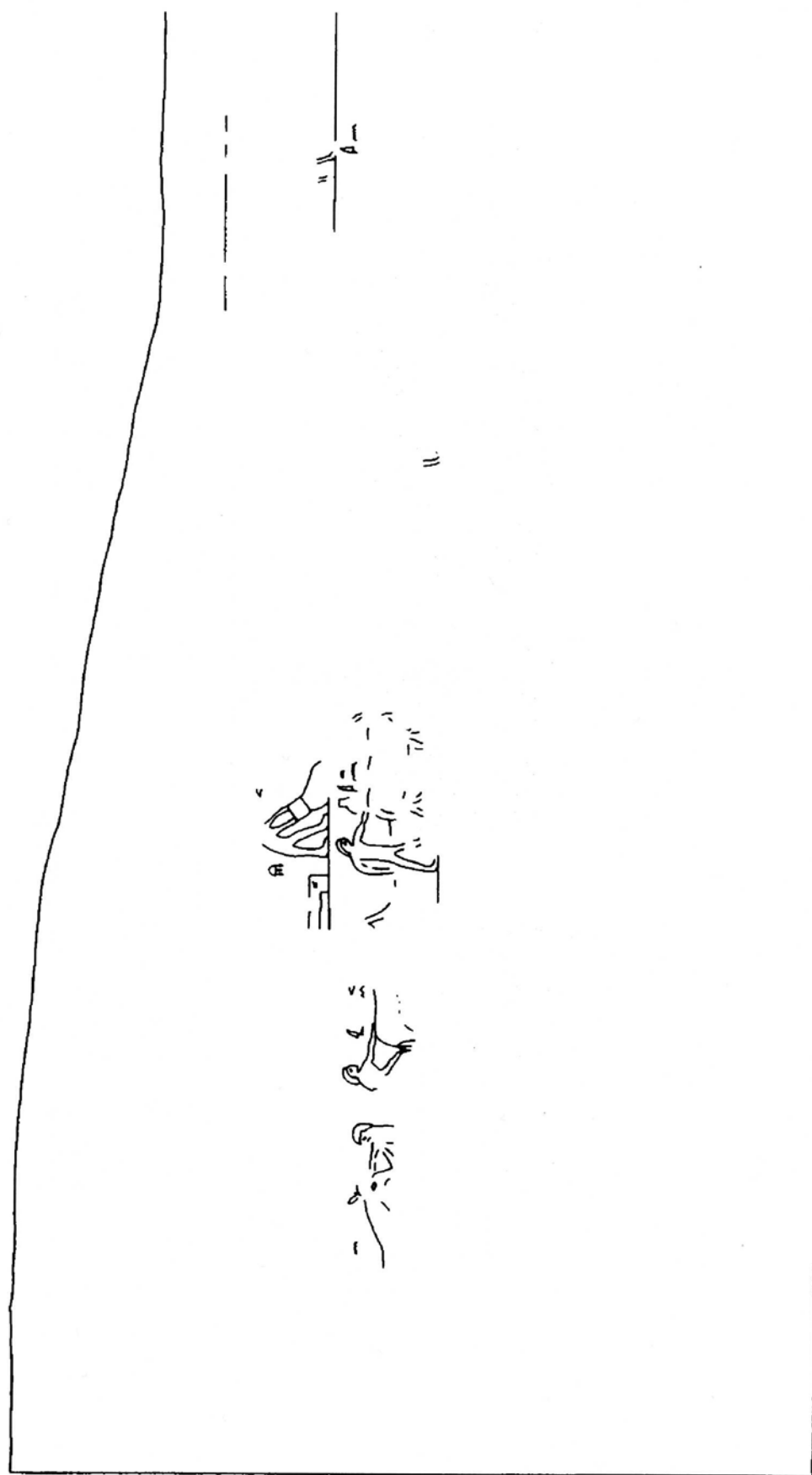


Fig. 3.21 – East wall decoration in the chapel of Fetekty (northern part)

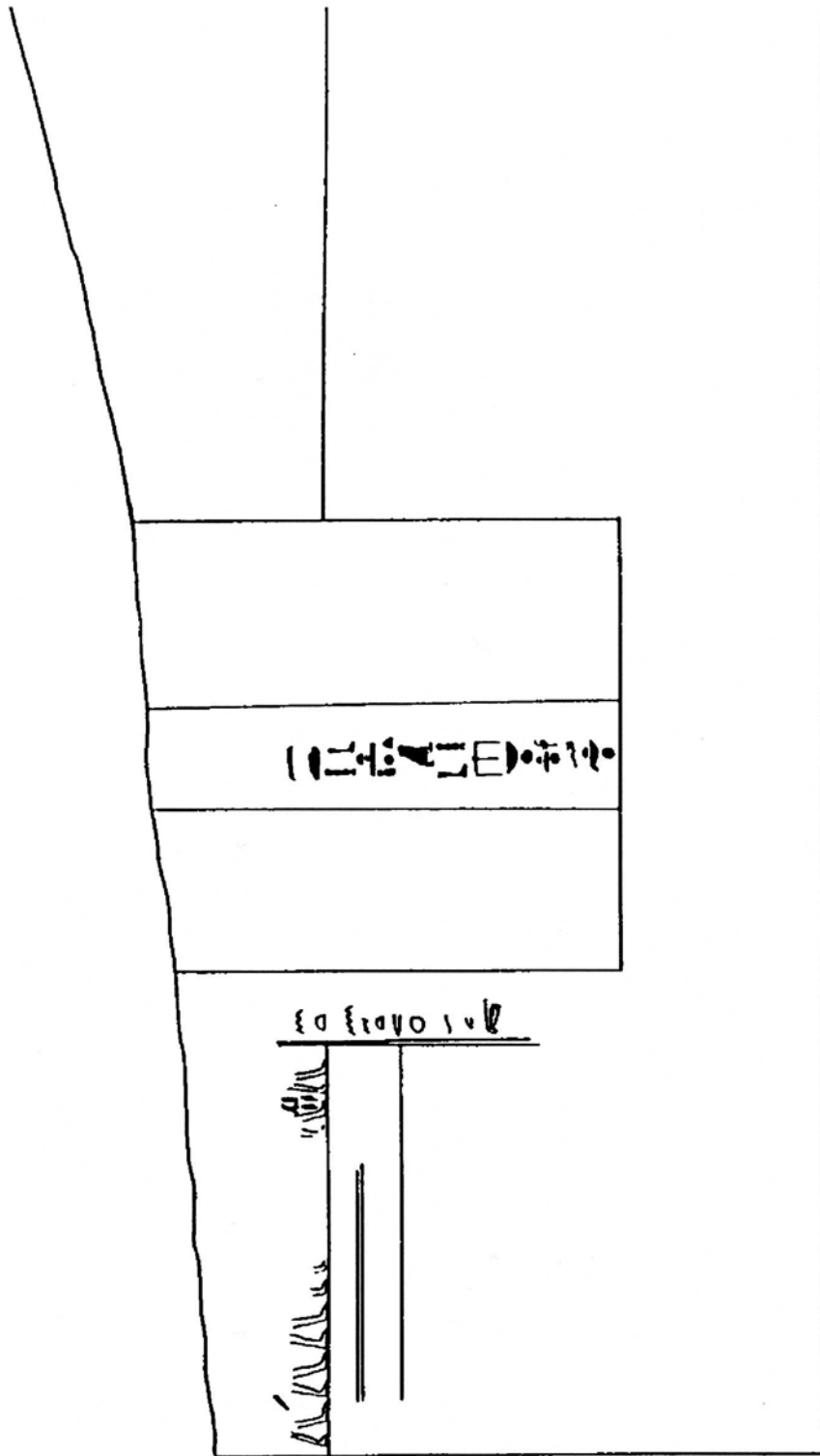


Fig. 3.22 – West wall decoration in the chapel of Fetekty (southern part)

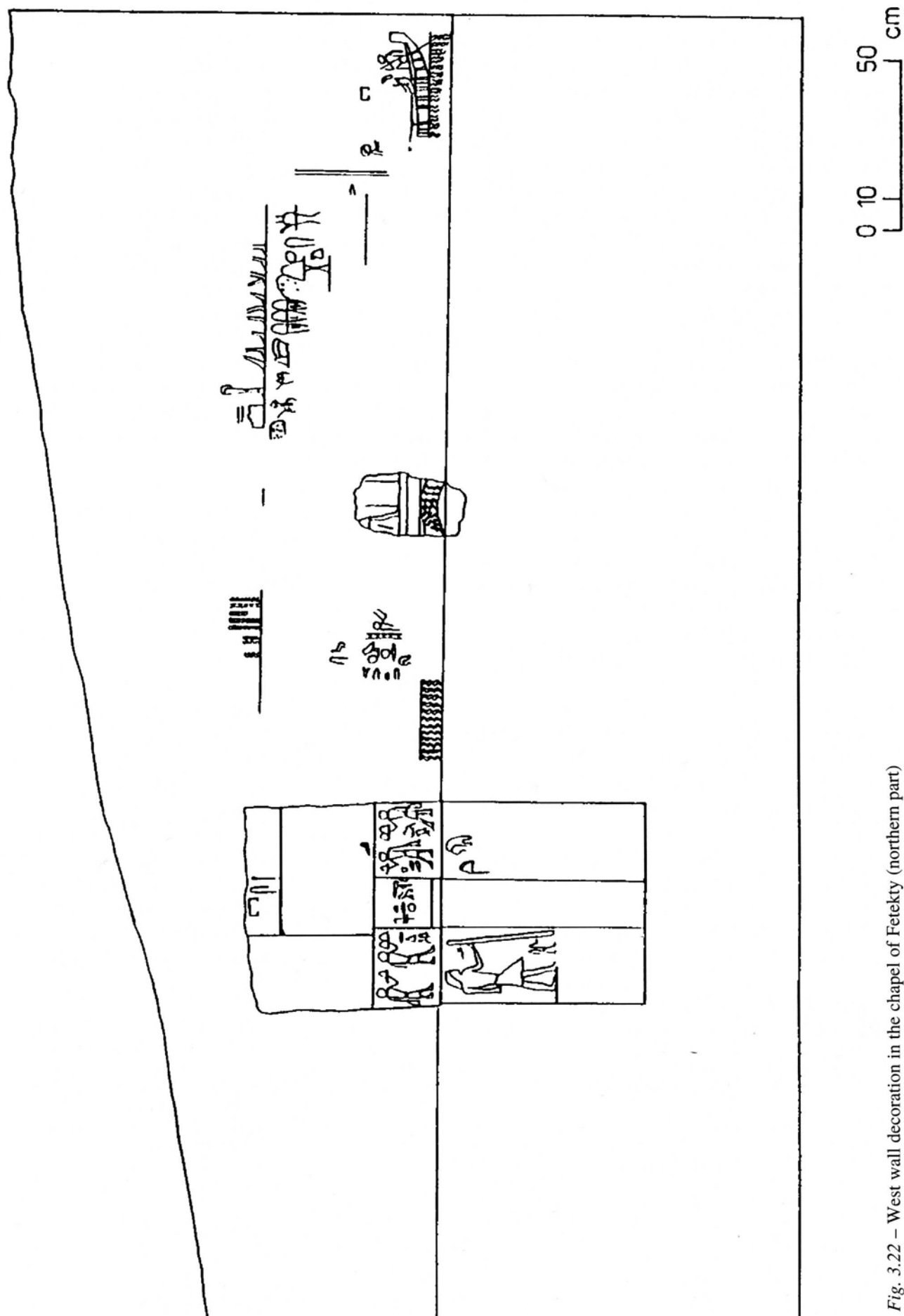


Fig. 3.22 – West wall decoration in the chapel of Fetekty (northern part)

1) This offering formula is attested from the Fourth Dynasty onwards.⁴¹⁶ The obvious form of this formula of the Fourth Dynasty was: *w^chtw n.f dbht-htpt* which, during the Fifth Dynasty, was transfigured into the expression *jrj n.f dbht-htpt* (*(prt) m* with the following enumeration of the religious feasts.⁴¹⁷ In several instances the feasts may be missing. That is the case with Fetekty, where a more general expression “on every feast and every day” stands for individual feasts (in this case, the reading of the inscription requires that the *nb* is to be read twice).⁴¹⁸ The expression *dbht-htpt* represents a general, all-encompassing term for offerings consisting of food and drinks which had to be ritually offered to the deceased.⁴¹⁹

The false door of Mety had been set up on a stone – 0.32 m high – step in a similar way and was built of small blocks of local limestone, being about 0.65 m wide and 1.97 m high. The door consisted of the central niche with a drum at the upper end, two jambs, lintel and the architrave. Despite the fact that it was preserved to its complete height, the door was so heavily weathered that the only recognisable incised inscription was on the lintel, in its centre (pls. XLIIb – XLIIa):

(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt, Mty

“The property custodian of the king, Mety.”

There were on each side of this inscription two male offering bearers oriented towards the centre of the false door; they were bringing offerings of bread on low plates. There were some traces of the names of the bearers on the right side: ...*dd(?)* and *D^cw*.⁴²⁰

On the left jamb the standing figure of Mety is preserved, leaning on a long staff and with a small figure of his son (eldest son?) in front of him. On the right jamb he is faced by a figure of his wife, holding a lotus flower.

The decoration of the architrave is almost completely faded so that the traditional scene at the offering table is not discernible any more. There is

only the foot of a man preserved in the right lower section of the lintel. The lintel has been topped by one line of inscription reading to the left: *shd pr- [šn^c?]*, “Inspector of the [magazines]?”

To the north of the Mety’s false door there are the remains of two, about 2.25 m long registers with scenes referring to the burial ritual of the deceased. The lowermost register reaches a height of 0.50 m. The whole register depicts travelling by boats across a pool to the west and reads from the north to the south, i.e. towards the false door of Mety. The scene starts with a papyrus skiff which is steered by a helmsman sitting at the stern (pl. XLIIb). The middle part of the boat is not preserved and it may be suggested, according to contemporary parallels from the tombs of Snofru-inishtef, Hetepherakhti, Ptahhotep and Niankhnum and Khnumhotep,⁴²¹ that there was a shrine with the statue of the deceased. There is a woman squatting next to the helmsman, a *drt*, the kite, and a man standing on the prow of the boat who is probably ensuring the stability of the naos.⁴²²

There is a single sign for *pr* above the kite, presumably a fragment of the washed-away caption stating something along the lines: “traversing (of the lake) from the house of weavers to the necropolis under the auspices of the Great God,”⁴²³ or perhaps “traversing (of the lake) with him who is on the lake from the embalming house, in peace, in peace, to his tomb in the cemetery”.⁴²⁴

The following scene is missing but its context can be easily reconstructed according to existing parallels. It was the scene of the crossing of the *wrt* channel,⁴²⁵ the so-called travelling to Sais.⁴²⁶ Only the left and right end of this scene is preserved. On the right, there is a row of rich offerings arranged in a sub-register at a height of about 0.23 m. On the left, only part of some inscription is preserved. The inscription once read: [*sd3t*] *wrt*,

⁴¹⁴ Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 111–112, §196–198; 190–192, §317–323.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110, §194, No. 3.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10, “Bitte 8”, translated as “der Speisebedarf möge für ihn hingelegt werden.” and *ibid.*, p. 17, “ein [wohl ausgestatteter] Speisebedarf wird für ihn gemacht am (Feste).”

⁴¹⁸ For the general indications of time in the offering formulas see *ibid.*, p. 110, §194.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 301; *Wb* V, 440.1 – “Speisebedarf für das Totenmahl.”

⁴²⁰ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 405.26.

⁴²¹ de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* 1894–1895, pl. 22; Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944): pl. 17; *LD* II, pl. 101b; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 6–7.

⁴²² For female mourners in the Old Kingdom see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, pp. 39–50 (5. “Representations of *Dryt*-mourners in the Old Kingdom”); Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11 (1943): 8–9 and Callender, *ArOr* 68 (2000): 231.

⁴²³ *LD* II, pl. 101b.

⁴²⁴ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 6–7, lowermost registers.

⁴²⁵ *LD* II, pl. 101b; de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* 1894–1895, pl. 22; Hassan, *Nebkauhor*, p. 19, fig. 4; 23, fig. 8 and pl. 15; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 6–7, second register from the bottom.

⁴²⁶ Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, pp. 65–74.

jm3h(w) hr [ntr ʕ], “Crossing the *wrt* channel, well-provided before the Great God” (pl. XLIIIa). A fragment representing a boat with a naos on board relates to this scene. The boat is sailing on a wavy section of water⁴²⁷ which is diagnostic only for this phase of the burial ritual (pl. LXXXVIIIb).⁴²⁸

The second register, almost destroyed by now, relates probably to the final stage of the transportation of the burial, i.e. to the journey from the river to the tomb.⁴²⁹ There are only two small fragments preserved of this scene. On the extreme right are the remains of several men who were probably dragging the sledge with naos concealing the statue of the deceased (pl. XXXVd).⁴³⁰ A unique piece of evidence was the fragment preserved in the left part of the register which revealed several vertical stripes with geometrical ornamentation. It can only be the remains of the stylised false door which symbolised the tomb, the terminal point of the whole enterprise (the only parallel to this element could be found in the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep).⁴³¹

This version of the burial (either of Fetekty or Mety) is composed of four separate stages: traversing the lake, crossing the *wrt* channel, dragging the sledge and finally, reaching the tomb in the cemetery.

3.4.2.1.3 Serdab

To the west of the pillared court there was a serdab (1.00 x 3.20 m, 2.00 m deep at the north end), the walls of which were cased with limestone blocks. The room had originally been roofed by limestone blocks, one of them still being *in situ*. The serdab was connected with the pillared court by means of a narrow squint. The south wall of the serdab was covered with red ink graffiti (fig. 3.23). The debris within the serdab consisted of windblown sand with limestone lumps, but also held a small fragment of a face mask covered with stucco and with a preserved painted eye. Apart from this, other

fragments of a male wooden statue were found (part of a foot with toes).

3.4.2.2 Substructure

Two false doors embedded in the west wall of the corridor chapel were related to the two shafts in the western part of the tomb. These shafts were hewn in the *tafl* bedrock.

Shaft 1 (fig. 3.24, pl. XLIIIb)

– the shaft of Fetekty.

Shaft opening: 1.30 (east-west) x 1.40 (north-south).

Depth: 9.60 m. The walls of the shaft were lined to a depth of 0.70 m with limestone lumps, and from 0.70–1.40 m with mudbrick.

Filling: To a depth of 1.70 m wind-blown sand. 1.70 m – bottom fill of dark sand with lumps of *tafl*.

Burial: The burial chamber is situated to the southwest of the shaft. The chamber is connected with the bottom of the shaft by means of a sloping about 2 m long corridor (the slope of the floor probably enabled better transportation of the coffin with the body of the deceased). The oblong burial chamber measured 1.26 x 2.76 m, its max. preserved height was 3.50 m (the original estimated height was about 1.85–2.00 m). The walls of the corridor as well as the walls of the chamber were cased with inferior blocks of limestone to a height of 1.00 m. In the floor of the chamber there was a stone-lined burial pit (0.60 m deep) built of inferior blocks of limestone which were coated with white plaster (outer dimensions of the pit: 2.85 x 1.16 m; inner: 2.57 x 0.86 m). The pit was originally sealed with a rectangular limestone plate, fragments of which were still scattered in the burial chamber.

A similar type of sarcophagus construction similar to the sunken and cased pit of Fetekty was found for instance in the tombs of Kednas (II)⁴³² and S 358⁴³³ at Giza⁴³⁴ and in the tombs of Tjetetu,⁴³⁵ Tjetji,⁴³⁶ Irenakhti,⁴³⁷ and Ishfi⁴³⁸ in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara. In most cases

⁴²⁷ Verner, *MDAIK* 50 (1994): pl. 49b.

⁴²⁸ For the summary of the pertinent Old Kingdom scenes see Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, pl. 6.

⁴²⁹ Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944): 210–213; Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, pp. 21–25; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pp. 50–51.

⁴³⁰ de Morgan, *Fouilles a Dahchour* 1894–1895, pl. 22; Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944): pl. 17; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 6–7, upper registers.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, pls. 6–7, uppermost register.

⁴³² Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 49.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴³⁴ For more examples Giza see, for instance, Hassan, *Giza* I, p. 40 – shaft 48; 41, fig. 33; 42 – shaft 157, 43, fig. 37; 46 – shaft 40, 47, fig. 50; Hassan, *Giza* III, p. 22 – shaft 533, 22, fig. 21; 106 – shaft 575, 106, fig. 9 3; tomb of Nesankhakhti, 128, fig. 110; *idem*, *Giza* VII, p. 19, fig. 13 – shaft 150.

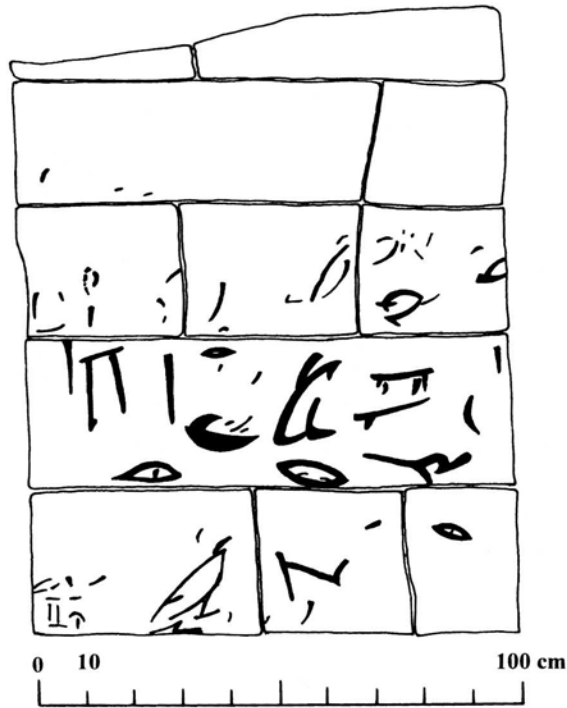


Fig. 3.23 – Tomb of Fetekty, south wall of the serdab

the pits were left unlined, all were, however, originally sealed with limestone slabs.

From the male burial (maturus I–II) were found only remains scattered all over the burial chamber (Excav. No. 5/BB/91). The burial equipment itself was limited to couple of sherds left behind by the tomb robbers.

Shaft 2 (fig. 3.25)

– the shaft of Mety.

Shaft opening: 0.90 × 0.95 m.

Depth: 3.35 m. The shaft was lined to a depth of 0.60 m with mudbricks, and from 0.60–1.20/1.40 m (west and east wall respectively) with limestone lumps.

Filling: 0–0.60 m windblown sand, 0.60 – bottom – windblown sand with articulated mudbricks and limestone chips. At a depth of 1.60 m there was found a collar-bone – probably from the burial of Mety.

Burial: The burial chamber was placed in the eastern wall of the shaft. The entrance was blocked with a dry-laid mudbrick wall 0.60 m high and

0.30 m thick. The burial chamber was accessible directly from the shaft. Within the chamber measuring 0.50 × 1.65 m a destroyed male burial was found (adultus I–II, Excav. No. 3/BB/91). No traces of burial equipment.

3.4.2.3 The titles and the names of Fetekty and Mety

3.4.2.3.1 Fetekty

1) *hrp wsht*

The title of the “director of the *wsht* hall”⁴³⁹ is undoubtedly in this context to be associated with the person who was concerned with and responsible for the offerings carried out in the *wsht* court of the royal mortuary temple.⁴⁴⁰

2) *(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt*

“Property custodian of the king” – for this title see the tomb of Hetepi (No. 1).

3) *(j)m(j)-r pr-šn^c*

“Overseer of the magazines” – for this title see the tomb of Hetepi (No. 2).

⁴³⁵ *Excavations at Saqqara I*, 32; pl. 13 – Shaft I.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39; pl. 20 – Shaft III.

⁴³⁷ *Excavations at Saqqara II*, p. 44; pl. 21 – Shaft I.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27; pl. 15 – Shaft I.

⁴³⁹ Jones, *Index II*, p. 712, No. 2594.

⁴⁴⁰ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, pp. 499–501.

Tomb of Fetekty
Shaft 1
1:100

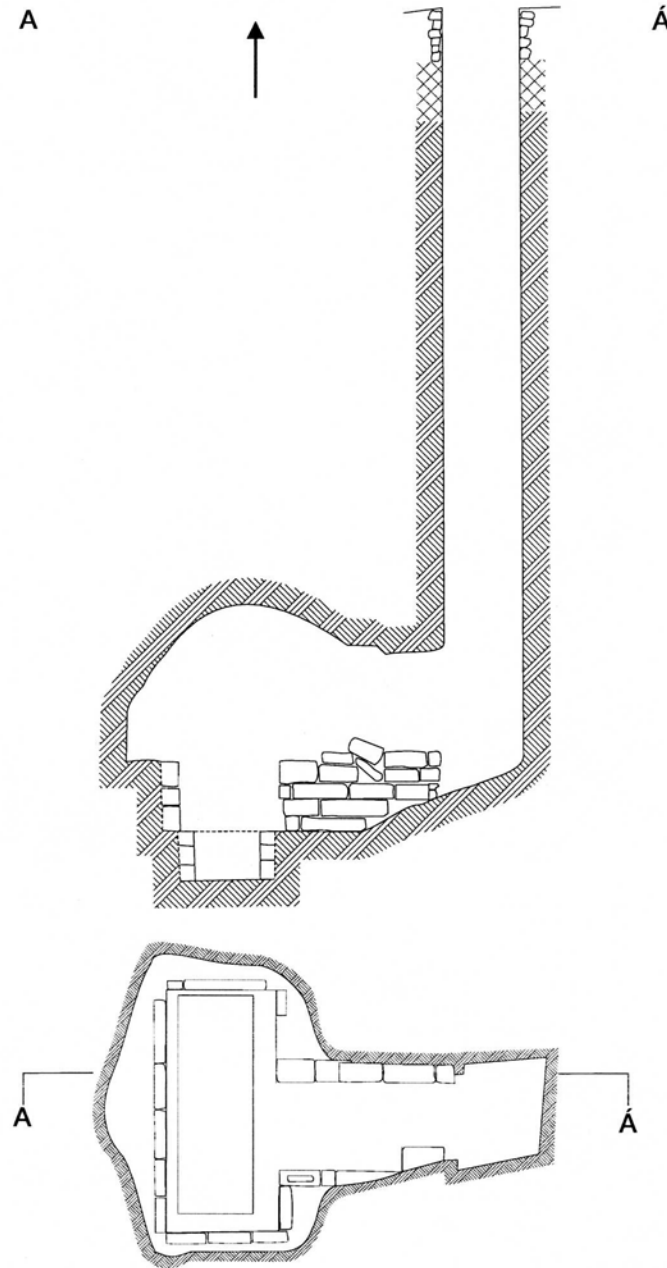


Fig. 3.24 – Shaft and the burial chamber of Fetekty

4) *Ftkty*⁴⁴¹

The official Fetekty is attested in several contemporary documents which enable his identification with the holder of the tomb at Abusir to be made:
– in the tomb of Ptahhotep (II),⁴⁴² Fetekty is depicted in two cases, always involved in carrying offerings for the tomb owner. He is designed as *shd htm(w)* and *shd htm(w)*, *hm-k3*.

– in the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep. The tomb of two brothers dates from the late Fifth Dynasty (end of the reign of Nyuserra and the reign of Menkauhor).⁴⁴³ The person of Fetekty occurs on several occasions on the walls of the tomb:

– a navigator on the prow of the boat, carrying the titles of *hm-k3* and *(j)m(j)-(j)ht*,⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 142.26 –143.1.

⁴⁴² Paget, Pirie, *Ptahhotep*, pls. 33 and 37.

⁴⁴³ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Niankhnum und Khnumhotep*, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 6, Sz.2.1.

Tomb of Fetekty
Shaft 2
1:40

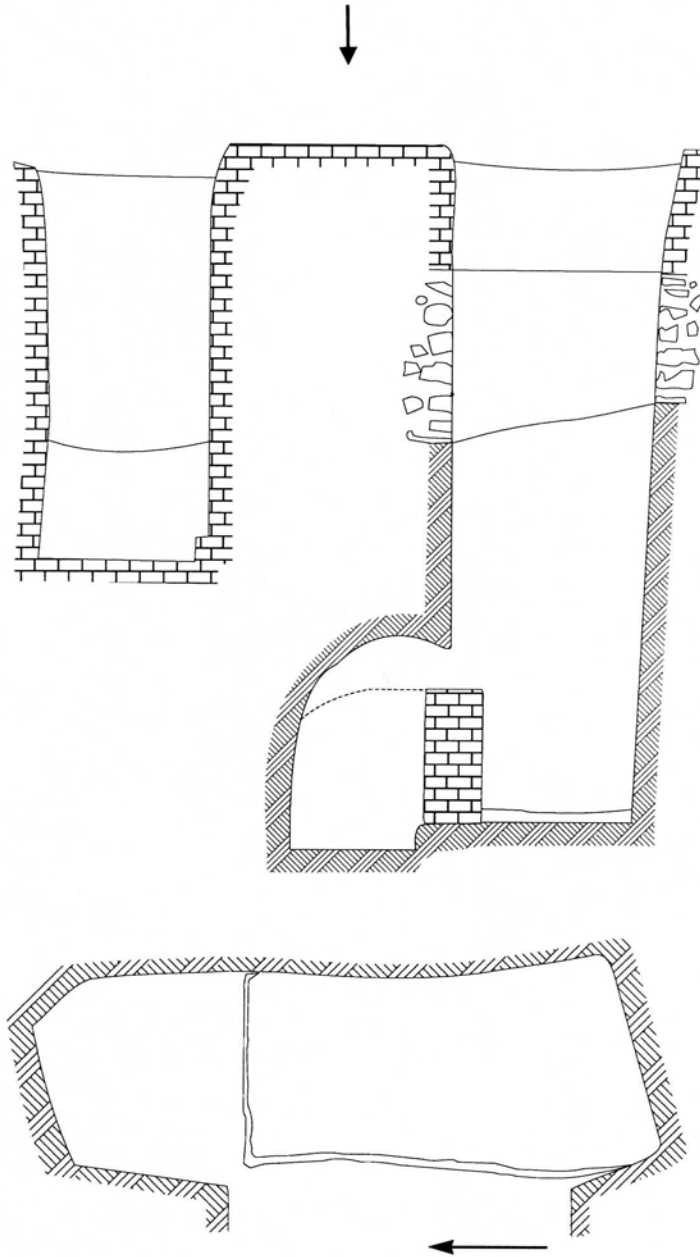


Fig. 3.25 – Shaft and the burial chamber of Mety

- among other men pulling a boat on the canal, holding the same titles,⁴⁴⁵
- driving a donkey in a procession, holding the same titles,⁴⁴⁶
- in the temple archive of Neferirkara there are, in several instances, persons with the name of Fetekty.⁴⁴⁷ He is designed as *hm-ntr* in connection

with the duty of the procession around the pyramid and as a person who is responsible for several objects of temple equipment.

The dating of the two above mentioned sources seems to match well with the tentative dating of the tomb of Fetekty. The tomb of Ptahhotep (II) dates to the reign of Izezi-Unas,⁴⁴⁸ the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep to the reign of Nyusera-Menkauhor and the documents from the

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 6, Sz.2.1.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 34, Sz.15.3.

⁴⁴⁷ Posener-Kriéger – de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 5ae; 6Ab; c, d; 6B; 7Af, i.

⁴⁴⁸ *PM* III, p. 600.

pyramid archive have been dated by Posener-Kriéger into the sixth year of the reign of Unas.⁴⁴⁹ Accordingly, the character of duties executed by these same-named officials shows no substantial difference and does not exclude the possibility that all three persons could be identical.

The titles “property custodian of the king” and “overseer of the storehouse” of Fetekty show that he was associated with the service in the funerary temples of the deceased kings. And his other titles as found in the tomb of Ptahhotep – *hm-k3* and *shd htm(w)*, *hm-k3* and *(j)m(j)-(j)ht* in the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep and *hm-ntr* in the temple of Neferirkara, are in accord with the character of duties executed by this official. Needless to say, that in all three cases the character and nature of the duties were virtually the same. Last but not least, the tentative dating of the tomb and of the sources into the reign of Izezi – Unas does not exclude the hypothesis of the proposed identification of Fetekty in the above tombs.

3.4.2.3.2 Mety

1) *(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt*

“Property custodian of the king” – for this title see the tomb of Hetepi (No. 1).

2) *shd pr-[šn]*

“Inspector of the magazines.”⁴⁵⁰ For the title and its interpretation see Hetepi’s title 2). In the given context it is likely that Mety was also employed in a royal mortuary complex in the service to the king.

3) *Mty*

This name is not attested in the corpus of Ranke’s Personennamen.

3.4.2.4 Colour conventions

The compilation of the below list of colours is based mainly on finds in the tomb of Fetekty. The evidence for individual colours was twofold – the greater part of the evidence for application of colours was taken from the documentation by the Lepsius expedition. A minor part of the evidence comes from the loose blocks and chapel from the tomb of Fetekty and also from the false door of Rahotep.

The basic six Old Kingdom colours could be identified:⁴⁵¹ white,⁴⁵² red,⁴⁵³ yellow,⁴⁵⁴ green,⁴⁵⁵ blue⁴⁵⁶ and black.⁴⁵⁷ Additionally, perhaps a brown colour or a darker shade of red colour was used by the artist in the tomb of Fetekty.⁴⁵⁸ It is questionable, however, whether this colour was not used only by the modern artist who was copying the decoration in the tomb of Fetekty. It is also quite possible that the copyist mistook the original dark red colour used for contour outlines (which was used during the Old Kingdom⁴⁵⁹) replacing it with the brown colour.⁴⁶⁰

Fischer observed that in some cases when only a light layer of black was applied, the resulting colour today is brown.⁴⁶¹ In most cases, the contours of individual signs were executed in black, in some cases in brown/red (?). The black contours were used for the red, green and blue painted signs and the brown/red contours for the white and yellow hieroglyphs.⁴⁶² In the case of black signs the contours were not necessary. The use of individual colours conformed with some minor exceptions to the rules for their application during the Old Kingdom.⁴⁶³ The paintings were made on a background of a light blue-grey wash.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵¹ Schenkel, ZÄS 88 (1963): 131 and Baines, AA 87 (1985): 286. For the colour conventions and application of red, yellow, green and black in the previous period see Kahl, ZÄS 124 (1997): 44–56.

⁴⁵² Nicholson, Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, pp. 114–115.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 113–114.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 115–116.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 111–113.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 108–111.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴⁵⁸ Baines, AA 87 (1985): 286.

⁴⁵⁹ See Weeks, *Giza Mastabas* 5, pls. 2b, c and 4b; Staehelin, in Hornung, *Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.*, p. 108.

⁴⁶⁰ The brown colour is during given period attested only sporadically – Schenkel, ZÄS 88 (1963): 131; Nicholson, Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 111.

⁴⁶¹ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 240.

⁴⁶² The same principle was in operation in different periods, for the New Kingdom see Staehelin, in Hornung, *Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.*, p. 108.

⁴⁶³ See, for instance, Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, pp. 71–74; Brunner-Traut, *LÄ II* (1977), cols. 117–128; Staehelin, in Hornung, *Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.*, pp. 108–119; Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, pp. 104–125; or Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery I*, pp. 22–25.

⁴⁶⁴ Baines, AA 87 (1985): 286. For this background for paintings at Abusir see Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, pp. 90 and 92 (Fetekty) and 82 (Khekeretnebtj).

⁴⁴⁹ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 486 and 491.

⁴⁵⁰ Jones, *Index II*, p. 927, No. 3409.

A) Paintings


Registers and columns separating lines: black;			yellow beard and black, yellow or white hair, black outlines; ⁴⁶⁵
Skin – male figures: red;	D4		– white with black edge, black iris;
Skin – female figures: yellow;	D21		– red, black outlines;
Hair: black, bald heads painted yellow;	D29		– red, black outlines;
Cakes: white;	D36		– red;
Sandals: red with black leather;	D48		– red, with black outlines;
Necklaces: black, red and blue elements;	D54		– red;
Fish: red and white with blue tails;	D58		– red, with black outlines;
(Stone) vessels: white (= alabaster?), yellow with black stripes (diorite?), white and red with black lines, white with black short lines in combination with dotted lines (diorite?); white with red and with some details in black;	E3		– white, with black outlines;
Pottery vessels: red with black stoppers or white with black handles (flower pots);	E17		– black;
Masts: black;	E23		– yellow with black outlines;
Onion: yellow;	F18		– white, with brown outlines;
Grapes: blue;	F35		– white, with brown outlines;
Grass and flowers: green or white with red outlines;	F44		– red, with black outlines;
Bread and dough: red and yellow;	F45		– black;
Kilts, dresses, cloth, sails and shopping bags: white, in one case the cloth is yellow (wine pressing);	F51		– red with black outlines;
Desert: yellow with red dots;	G1		– blue wings and head, white body, brown legs, in one case entirely white with black tips of the wing and tail, black outlines; ⁴⁶⁶
Baskets and trays: yellow with matting indicated in red and with black rims and loops;	G5 and G7		– with blue wings and tail, white body, R12 brown, black outlines;
Wooden boxes: yellow with red lines for the wood pattern and black upper rims;	G17		– head and wings yellow, white belly and brown legs, black outlines;
Boats: red or yellow, in one case with a prow and stern in blue;	G36		– blue with white belly and brown legs, black outlines;
Paddles: red;	G43		– yellow body sprinkled with black dots and brown legs, black outlines;
Matting kiosks on the boats: black and yellow, white and red poles and beams;	I9		– yellow, black outlines;
Gazelles, ibex and antelopes – yellow skin with red diagonal criss-crossing lines and black horns and hooves;	I10		– yellow body, black dots on the neck, black details on the head, black outlines;
Hyenas – white with black contours;	M1		– green, with black outlines;
Cattle: yellow, white, black or white with black spots;	M3		– white, with brown outlines;
“Cattle blankets”: yellow, green or white with green border;	M12		– leaf and rhizome green and black stalk, black outlines, white bottom;
Fishing hooks: black;	M13		– white, with black outlines;
Scribe’s table: yellow with black border;	M17		– green, with black outlines;
Palette: black with yellow outlines;	M29		– blue, with black outlines;
Anchor: yellow.	N14		– yellow with black outlines;
	N17		– blue with black outlines;
	N29		– blue, with black outlines;
	N35		– black;
	N37		– red or blue, with black outlines;
	N40		– N37 blue and D54 red, with black outlines;

B) Hieroglyphic signs

A2	– white, brown outlines;
A48	– brown, black outlines;
D2	– yellow or white face with black or

⁴⁶⁵ Already Staehelin (in Hornung, *Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.*, p. 110) has drawn attention to the fact that this sign is frequently painted yellow - in contrast with other signs used for the parts of the human body (group D) that were consistently painted red.

⁴⁶⁶ The group G (birds) belongs to the most different and unstable group in terms of colour conventions and variations – see *ibid.*, p. 113.

O1	– blue, with black outlines;	V33	– yellow, with black outlines;
O2	– blue O1, white head and black handle of T3;	V34	– lower part white, upper part red, black knot, with black outlines;
O6	– white with black outlines;	V35	– white, with brown outlines;
O10	white with black outlines, G5 with white wings, white head and belly, brown legs;	W14	– red, with black outlines;
O34	– white, with brown outlines;	W16	– green, with black outlines;
P1	– (lower part preserved), white, with red outlines;	W19	– red jug with a yellow horizontal band, uncoloured loop and black outlines;
P5	– uncoloured sail?, black mast, with brown outlines of the sail;	W24	– red, with black outlines;
Q3	– green or white, with black outlines;	X1	– black or blue, sometimes left uncoloured, but with black outlines;
Q6	– yellow, with black outlines;	X3	– yellow, with black outlines;
R4	– white mat and lashing with yellow bread, black outlines;	X8	– black;
R23	– alternating black and red, red central circle, with black outlines;	Y2	– white roll with the red zig-zag pattern and black outlines (in some cases only black);
S17	– white with brown outlines;	Y4	– palette yellow with two black dots, white bag and reed-holder and black outlines;
S20	– the seal white or blue, red and blue bead-necklace,	Y5	– red, with black outlines;
S22	– red side-knots with the white central piece, with black outlines;	Z2	– red, with black outlines;
S27	– yellow with black outlines;	Z11	– green, with black outlines;
S29	– red, with black outlines;	Aa1	– green, with black outlines;
S33	– red, with black outlines;	Aa7	– yellow, with black outlines;
S35	– yellow, white frame and handle, with black outlines;	Aa26	– yellow, with black outlines.
T4	– black handle, with brown outlines;		
T8	– blue, with black outlines; ⁴⁶⁷		
T11	– yellow with black or red outlines and black details;		
T12	– black;		
T14	– red, with black outlines;		
T20	– blue, with black outlines;		
T28	– black with red central part;		
T87	– () brown;		
U1	– red, with black outlines;		
U6	– red, with black outlines;		
U29	– yellow with black top and the central pieces and brown outlines;		
V1	– black;		
V4	– white, with black outlines;		
V14	– red, with black outlines;		
V20	– black;		
V28	– blue, brown or green, with black outlines;		
V30	– green, with black outlines;		
V31	– green, with black outlines;		

3.5 – Lesser tombs adjacent to the tomb complexes of Fetekty, Rahotep and Izeziseneb

There were four new tomb clusters excavated during the 1993 season (13. 2.–21. 3.). These tombs are situated immediately to the west of the tomb of Fetekty and southwest of the corridor chapel of Rahotep (pl. XLIVa). All the tombs analysed below were not known prior to excavation. The majority of the surviving architectural remains of the tombs consisted of mudbricks covered with plaster and whitewashed. Tombs I–III are typical of the lesser family tombs with corridor chapels and burial shafts to the west of them. Tomb IV shows several distinct features resulting from its secondary position within this tomb group and probably also from its different function as will be shown below. The tombs are located on the southward inclined slope of a hill. It is probable that this natural slope of the cemetery was responsible for the southern parts of these tombs being so heavily denuded down to the floor levels to such an extent that a reconstruction of their outward appearance is not possible any more.

⁴⁶⁷ During the Old Kingdom, this sign is normally painted red, *ibid.*, p. 118.

3.5.1 Tomb I

3.5.1.1 Superstructure

Tomb I is the easternmost lying tomb within this secondary cemetery and it measures approximately 10.50×3.85 m in ground plan. The southeast part of the tomb was denuded to the ground. The tomb was entered presumably from the southeast through an entrance situated in the southern wall of the tomb. This entrance is nowadays missing. Behind the assumed entrance there was a north-south oriented corridor chapel, the southern section of which is again missing. From the ground plan it seems to be almost certain that the chapel was quite narrow for the first 4.30 m and that only in its northern portion was it widened to 0.88 m. Merely 6.0 m long course of the corridor chapel is preserved. The floor of the chapel was made of beaten clay (*tafl*). The walls of the chapel were covered with dark grey-black plaster and subsequently whitewashed. The floor was whitewashed as well. No traces of painted decoration were observed in the course of its excavation.

There were two double niches in the west wall of the chapel and originally a false door embedded in the west wall at the northern end of the corridor. The false door is unfortunately missing and only the imprint of its base together with the base limestone block and the pink plaster which covered the joints between the false door and the adjoining walls have been preserved. Thus, it can be estimated that the false door was about 0.70 m wide and 0.20 m deep. The double niches were 0.41 m (the northern one) and 0.46 m wide and almost 0.40 m deep. They were devoid of any inscription.

The chapel was filled with a floor layer of mudbricks (probably from a collapsed vault) and dark sand (about 0.30–0.50 m thick). At the northern end of the corridor chapel, part of destroyed vault was found. It thus seems likely that the chapel was protected by a mudbrick vault.

3.5.1.2 Substructure

To the west of the corridor chapel there are seven burial shafts. Three of them are to the west of the southern (today missing) portion of the narrower section of the corridor chapel. The remaining four shafts are situated to the west of the preserved northern course of the corridor chapel and are shifted for about 1 m further to the west in comparison with the preceding two shaft. (figs. 3.26–3.27).

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.25×1.20 m.

Depth: 6.10 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 1.20 m with *tafl* mudbricks ($0.28 \times 0.12 \times 0.09$ m) laid in courses of headers and stretchers.

Filling: 0–0.9 m: wind blown sand, 0.9 – bottom: sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: The burial chamber was situated at the bottom of the shaft, in its eastern wall. No traces of a wall sealing the entrance were found. The chamber was 0.70 m high, 1.00 m deep (E–W) and 2.20 m long. The body was wrapped in a reed mat (Excav. No. 16/FF/93). It was placed along the northern wall of the chamber, in a strongly contracted position, with head to the east, looking to the south, hands folded before the face. There was no funerary equipment. The bones could not be sexed during the anthropological examination.

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 0.98×1.04 m.

Depth: 4.84 m. The shaft was lined to a depth of 1.30 m with *tafl* mudbricks in courses of headers and stretchers ($0.27 \times 0.13 \times 0.08$ m).

Filling: 0 – bottom: wind blown sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the eastern wall of the shaft, about 0.06 m above the floor level. There was no wall sealing the entrance. The irregular burial chamber was 0.74 m high, 0.94 m deep and about 1.60 m long. The body was lying in the middle of the chamber, in a strongly contracted position on the left side, hands folded before the face, with head to the north, looking east (Excav. No. 10/FF/93). No traces of the funerary equipment were found.

Female burial (adultus).

Shaft 3 (fig. 3.26, pl. XLVIb)

Shaft opening: 1.00×1.00 m.

Depth: 5.50 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 1.00 m with *tafl* mudbricks in courses of headers and stretchers ($0.28 \times 0.14 \times 0.09$ m).

Filling: 0 – bottom: wind blown sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the southern wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was 0.70 m high, 1.10 m deep and 2.50 m long. There were no traces of an entrance wall. A shallow depression in the floor of the chamber was about 0.10 m deep, 0.60 m wide and about 1.40 m

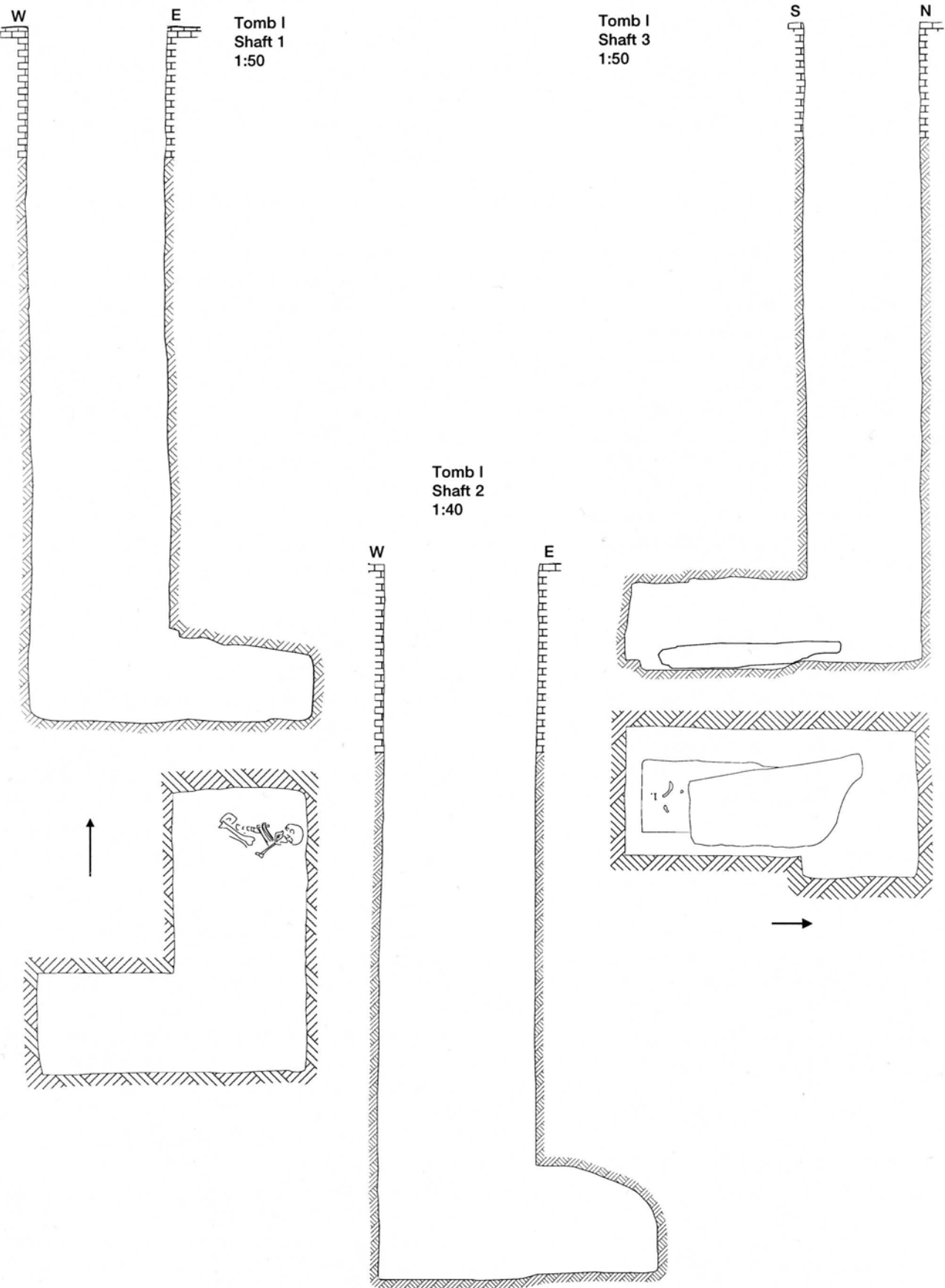


Fig. 3.26 – Tomb I, Shaft 1-3

long. The depression contained a disturbed burial of a child (infans II – 12–13 years old, Excav. No. 14/FF/93), which had originally been covered by a limestone plate (about 0.10 m in thickness). There were no traces of the burial equipment.

Shaft 4

Shaft opening: 0.95 × 0.90 m.

Depth: 2.50 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 0.50 m with *tafl* mudbricks laid in courses of headers and stretchers (0.28 × 0.13 × 0.08 m).

Filling: 0 – bottom: wind blown sand mixed with *tafl*. At a depth of about 1.60 m there was found a biconical pottery stand.

Burial: There was a burial niche in the west wall at the bottom of the shaft. It was about 0.60 m high, 0.54 m deep and 0.90 m long. No entrance wall was found.

There were found only traces of the original burial. Female (?) burial (adultus II, Excav. No. 2/FF/93).

Shaft 5

Shaft opening: 1.05 × 0.85 m.

Depth: 5.46 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 0.60 m (the eastern wall to a depth of 1.60 m due to the fissures in the *tafl* wall) with *tafl* mudbricks in courses of headers and stretchers (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.10 m).

Filling: 0 – bottom: wind blown sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the eastern wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was 0.85 m high, 0.90 m deep and 2.00 m long. There was no entrance wall and a disturbed burial was found at the east wall of the chamber. The body was probably originally lying in an outstretched position of its back, with head to the north, wrapped in a reed mat (Excav. No. 11/FF/93). No traces of the burial equipment were found. Male (?) burial (adultus II/maturus I).

Shaft 6

Not excavated due to danger from the collapsed side walls of the shaft.

Shaft 7

Shaft opening: 1.08 × 1.00 m.

Depth: 2.70 m.

Filling: 0 – bottom: wind blown sand.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the eastern wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was

0.70 m high (the height decreases to the east), 0.80 m deep and 1.00 m long. There was a destroyed double burial of a mother with a child. No burial equipment and no entrance wall. Female burial (adultus I) and a child burial (infans perinatale) (Excav. No. 18/FF/93).

3.5.2 – Tomb II – Tomb of Gegi

3.5.2.1 Superstructure

The tomb lies further due to the west of Tomb I and it is entered rather atypically from the west by means of a shallow (0.15 m deep) 2.30 m wide porticus. The entrance is followed up by a 0.62 m wide, eastwards running corridor which after 1.00 m widens up to 1.03 m. After some 5.20 m the corridor bifurcates into two northwards and southwards running corridor chapels. This eastwards running corridor divides the tomb into the two, relatively independent, parts. The northern part measures approximately 6.30 (east-west) × 6.40–5.50 (north-south) m. The southern part, incompletely preserved, about 4.50–5.10 (east-west) × 4.50 (north-south) m.

The northern corridor chapel is entered by a narrow 0.58 m long and 0.50 m wide entrance. The northern corridor chapel is nearly 8.00 m long and 1.06 m wide. The walls of the corridor chapel walls were plastered and whitewashed. There is a small chapel accessible through the west wall of the corridor. This chapel is oriented to the west (its axis is perpendicular to the axis of the corridor chapel) and it is 2.07 m long and 0.98 m wide. The whole west wall was originally occupied by a double-recessed false door which was 1 m high, 1.06 m wide and about 0.30 m deep. Today, however, the false door is preserved only in its lower part. It was built of three blocks of limestone covered with a layer of plaster. On it are the partly preserved incised title, epithets and offering formula with the name of the deceased Gegi, his eldest son and his wife (fig. 3.28, pls. XLIVb – XLVa).

Before the false door there were found two tall biconical pottery stands covered with a thick coat of white plaster imitating alabaster or limestone material. These stands were found *in situ* and belong to the original equipment of the chapel.⁴⁶⁸ Since there was no offering altar found, it is pos-

⁴⁶⁸ For a similar find and the discussion see Fischer, *MMJ* 7 (1973): 123–126, 125, fig. 6 (tomb 1453 at Giza).

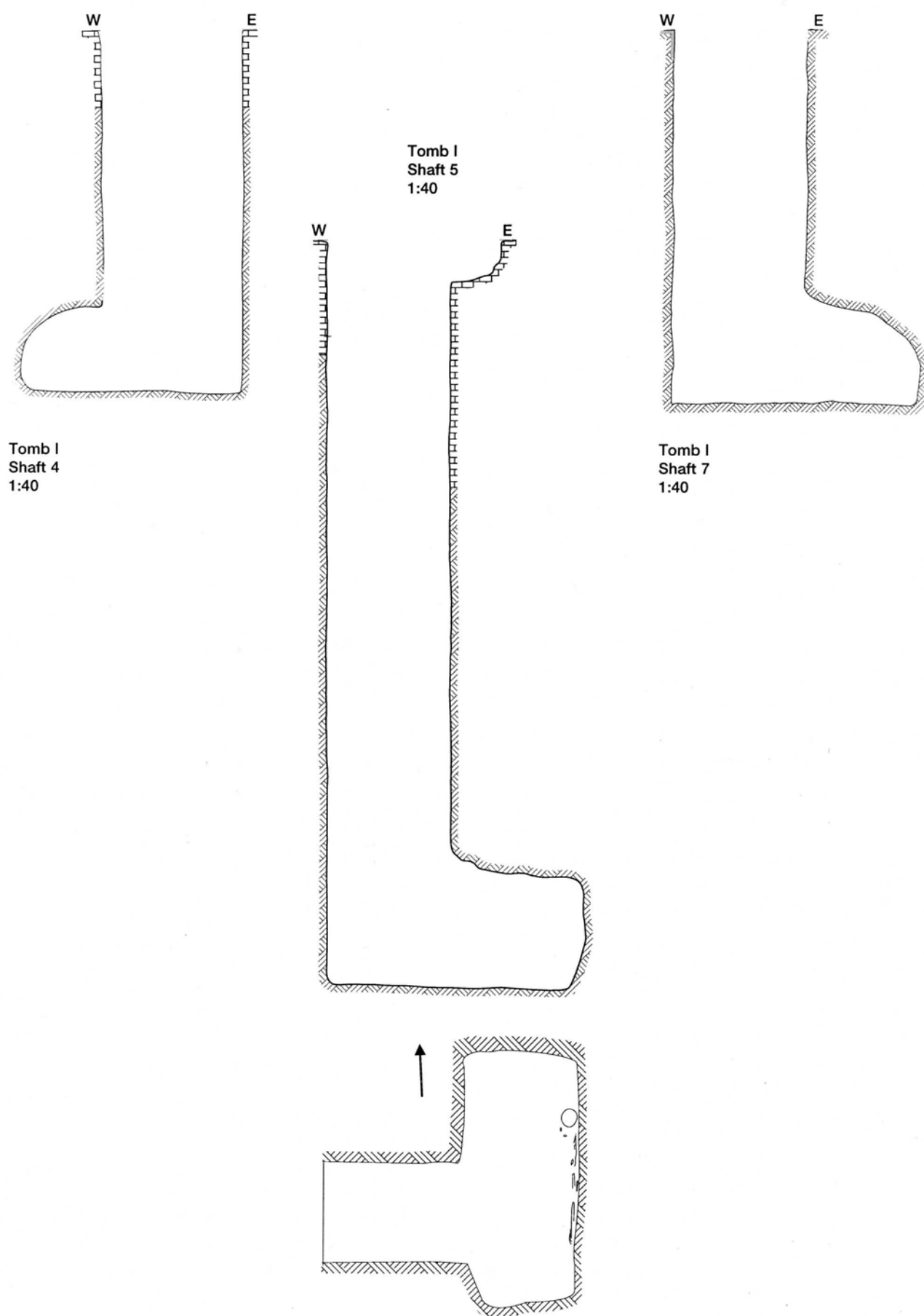


Fig. 3.27 – Tomb I, Shaft 4–5, 7

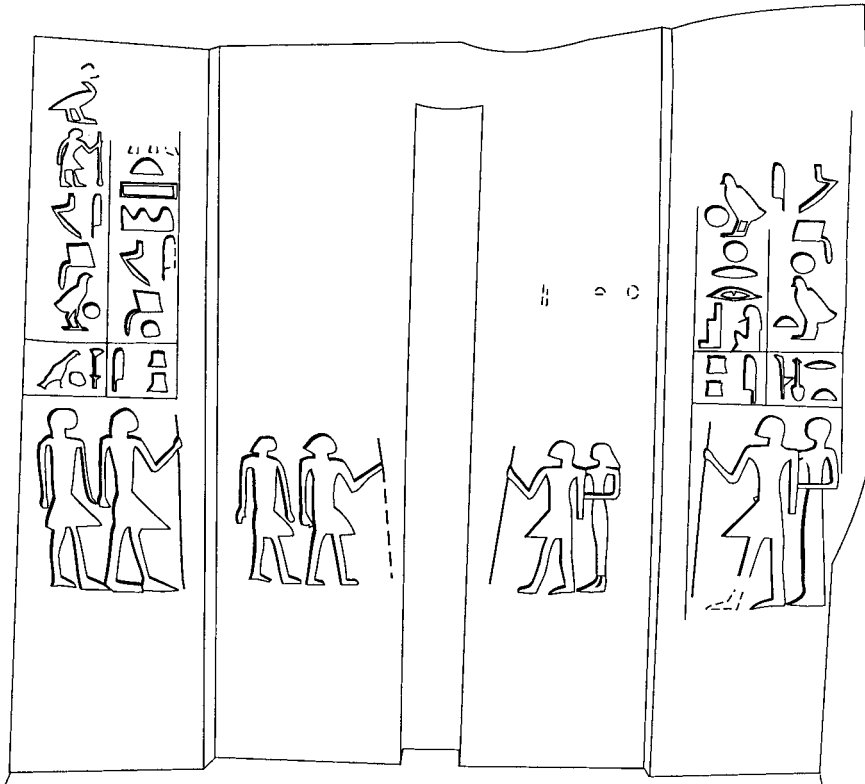
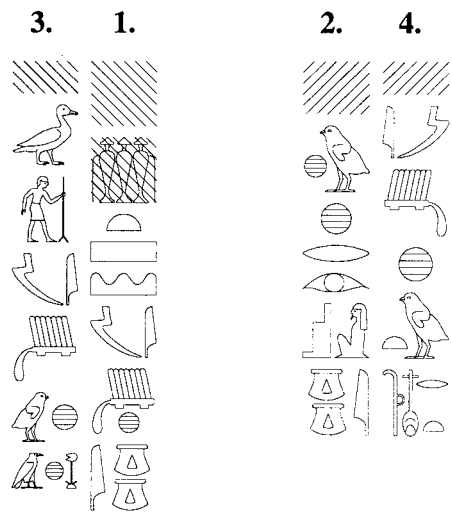


Fig. 3.28 – False door of Gegi (1:10)

sible that the offerings originally were put in bowls that were laid on these stands.⁴⁶⁹

The central part of the false door was devoid of any inscription. The sides were decorated with four figures. There were two male striding figures on the left inner jamb, dressed in short pointed kilts, the first man leaning against a long staff (Gegi followed by his son Kha). On the inner right jamb there were two more persons, the first one a striding man wearing a similar short pointed kilt, leaning against a long staff and the second, a standing woman, wife of Gegi, wearing a close-fitting long dress with shoulder straps and embracing her husband.

An identical composition, i.e. the same persons depicted in the similar attitudes was repeated on the outer jambs (i.e. Gegi followed by his son or by his wife). Moreover, there were altogether four vertical columns of inscriptions situated precisely above the heads of these four persons in such a manner that each single column related to one person (pls. XLVb–c). The inscriptions are as follows:



1....[*hnt(j)*]-š, *jm3h(w)*, *Ggj*

2....(*j*)*m3h(w)* *hr Wsjr*, *Ggj*

3....*z3(.f)* *smsw*, *jm3hw*, *H3*

4....[*hnt(j)*]-š, *jm3hwt*, *Rnpt-nfrt*.

1.“...palace attendant, well-provided, Gegi (3),

2....well-provided before Osiris (1), Gegi,

3....(his) oldest son, well-provided, Kha,⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁹ See *Meisterwerke altägyptischer Keramik*, p. 124, Cat. No. 149 (MÄS 4855). During the work on the pottery from the pyramid temple of Neferefra it was possible to establish a close link between the tall stands and the Meidum bowls, see Bárta, *PA* 87 (1996): 145.

⁴⁷⁰ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 262.1.

4.....(palace attendant), well provided, Renpetneferet."⁴⁷¹

1) The occurrence of the name of Osiris in the offering formula enables the *ante quem non* dating of the monument since there is no direct attestation of the name of Osiris in the offering formulas prior to the end of the Fifth Dynasty (reign of Izezi and Unas).⁴⁷²

Both the walls of the chapel and the floor of Gegi's tomb were plastered and whitewashed with no traces of the original decoration. There can be, however, no certainty whether the chapel was originally decorated (as was the case with the chapel of Izeziseneb) or not because the walls are only preserved to a height of about 1 m, e.g. approximately to the normal height of a dado, which was left undecorated.⁴⁷³ To the south of the entrance into the chapel there was a shallow double-recessed niche, 0.40 m wide and 0.36 m deep.

The southern corridor chapel is not completely preserved and it was possible to trace only 4.00 m of its initial course. The corridor chapel was about 0.73–0.80 m wide, but after 2.70 m it widens to 1.70 m and departs from the north-south axis slightly to the southwest. It was impossible to follow the further course of the chapel since that part of the tomb had been swept away by the seasonal waters running through the *wadi* to the area of cultivation. Given the width of the corridor chapel (1.70 m at least) it can be supposed that it probably led into a court.

There is another east-west oriented cult chapel entered from the west wall of this corridor chapel. The chapel is entered through an 0.80 m wide and 0.60 m long entrance. The chapel proper is 1.06 m wide and 2.42 m long. Its walls are preserved to a height of 0.80 m, and plastered and whitewashed. The floor of the chapel is whitewashed as well. There was found no false door in the west wall. It is, however, beyond any doubt that there originally stood a beautifully carved limestone false door with hieroglyphs executed in a fine low relief. There was only one single fragment of the false door encountered in the southwest corner of the chapel with two preserved hieroglyphic signs *hnt(j) [zh]-ntr*, a part of the offering formula with attributes obviously associated with the god Anubis.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 224.11.

⁴⁷² Griffiths, *Origins of Osiris*, p. 21; 67–68; Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 15; 287; Griffiths, *LÄ V* (1984), col. 625.

⁴⁷³ For the similar heights of dados see Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 29.

3.5.2.2 Substructure

Both the northern and southern substructures consist of series of shafts situated to the west of the corridor chapels (fig. 3.29). A new element in the architecture of the tombs on this site is that there are east-west cult chapels encountered in both superstructures (introduced to cemetery by Izeziseneb).

Their position, running across the massif of the tombs, influenced the position of the main shaft. In the case of the northern superstructure, it is presumably the shaft to the north of the cult chapel, which can be associated with the tomb owner Gegi because the shaft lying to the south of the chapel corresponds with the niche embedded in the west wall of the corridor chapel. In comparison with this, the cult chapel within the southern superstructure relates to the shaft situated to the south of it.

Northern substructure

There are four shafts in the northern substructure. The main shaft of the tomb owner Gegi, Shaft 1, is situated to the north of his cult chapel. The remaining three shafts are lying in a row to the south of this chapel. The northernmost of them corresponds with a double-recessed niche in the west wall of the corridor chapel.

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.60 × 1.45 m.

Depth: the excavation reached a depth 5.40 m but for security reasons the excavation was given up (instability of the side walls of the shaft).

The shaft was lined to a depth of 1.60 m with mudbricks (0.26 × 0.14 × 0.08 m) in courses of headers and stretchers.

Filling: 0–5.40 m wind blown sand.

Burial: Unknown, probably male burial.

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.25 × 1.00 m.

Depth: 5.25 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 1.55 m with mudbricks in Bond C1 (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.08 m).⁴⁷⁴

Filling: 0-bottom wind blown sand.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the east wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was 1.15 m high, about 2.00 m deep and 1.00 m long. No blocking wall nor burial.

⁴⁷⁴ Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, pl. 11.

Shaft 3

Shaft opening: 1.05 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 3.90 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 1.20 m with *tafl* mudbricks in Bond C3 (?) (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.08 m).⁴⁷⁵

Filling: 0 – bottom wind blown sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the west wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was about 0.60 m high, 0.50 m deep and about 1.00 m long.

No entrance wall nor burial.

Shaft 4

Shaft opening: 1.02 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 3.60 m.

The walls of the shaft had been left unlined.

Filling: 0 – bottom wind blown sand.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the east wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was 1.06 m high, 1.00 deep and 2.00 m long. There was no entrance wall. The burial was found in a disturbed context so that the determination of its orientation was impossible. There were two beer jars, presumably part of the burial equipment. Child burial (infans II, 5–6 years, Excav. No. 20/FF/93).

Southern substructure

Due to the preservation of this part of the tomb, it was possible to document only one shaft in full. This shaft is situated to the south of the chapel and it presumably contained the body of the owner of this part of the tomb. Since the false door was removed prior to the excavation his name remains anonymous. It may be only supposed that the man was a relation of Gegi's (his oldest son?).

Shaft 5

Shaft opening: 1.76 × 1.46 m.

Depth: 3.40 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 0.90 m with mudbricks in courses of headers and stretchers (0.28 × 0.12 × 0.10 m).

Filling: 0 – bottom wind blown sand mixed with *tafl*.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the east wall of the shaft, at a depth of about 2.00–2.70 m. The chamber was 0.70 m high, 0.70 m deep and 1.40 m long. The body of the deceased was lying

in a contracted position on the left side, with head to the north, looking east. Remains of the bandages and reed mat in which the body was wrapped were preserved. There was no entrance wall nor burial equipment. Male burial, Excav. No. 21/FF/93).

3.5.2.3 The names and titles of Gegi and his family**1) *hnt(j)-š***

“Palace/(mortuary temple) attendant.”⁴⁷⁶

Up until now, there has been no precise way how to render this title. P. Andrassy in her study in 1994 was able to show that there were two discernible groups of servants designed as *hntjw-š*.⁴⁷⁷ The first group included officials engaged in the service to the king employed in his palace.⁴⁷⁸ The second group or category of *hntjw-š* was active in funerary service in the royal mortuary complexes. Andrassy concludes that the title and its variants were associated with an administration unit of economical nature connected with the running of the royal palace. These officials were also involved in taking part in the daily mortuary cult in the pyramid temples.⁴⁷⁹ In this case, however, also playing an active role in profane aspects of the cult. She thus establishes the link between the profane service for the living and for the dead king.⁴⁸⁰

Roth, however, sees – quite rightly, one would think – a direct connection between both categories of the *hntjw-š*. In both cases they were largely involved in personal service of the king (both in his human or mortuary aspect) such as transporting food, his dressing and feeding, etc.⁴⁸¹

From the archives of Neferirkara we now know that censuring in the basin *š* played an important part in their duties, too.⁴⁸² Since most officials buried in the cemetery around the tomb of Fetekty were employed in mortuary complexes of the kings, it is hard to escape the temptation to understand the title in this context as “those in front of

⁴⁷⁶ Jones, *Index II*, pp. 691–692, No. 2530.

⁴⁷⁷ Andrassy, in Gundlach, Rochholz, eds., *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, pp. 3–12 and with an overview of the pertinent discussion so far.

⁴⁷⁸ For cemetery of such a group see Roth, *Giza Mastabas 6*.

⁴⁷⁹ See Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, pp. 577–581.

⁴⁸⁰ Andrassy, in Gundlach, Rochholz, eds. *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, *passim*.

⁴⁸¹ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, pp. 79–81 and *idem*, *Giza Mastabas 6*, p. 42.

⁴⁸² Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 539.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 11.

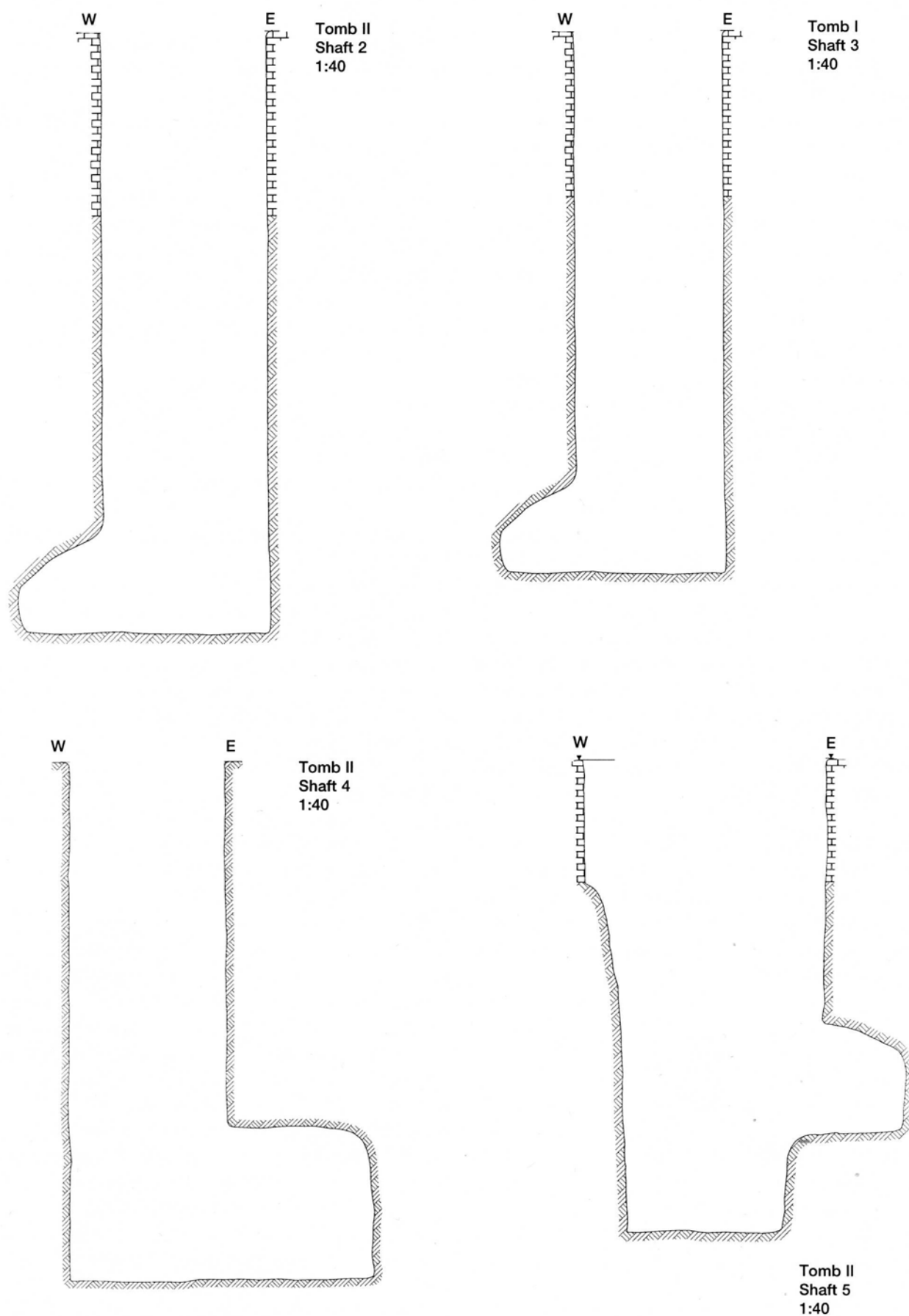


Fig. 3.29 – Tomb II, Shaft 2–5

the censuring basin.”

2) *Ggi*

The name *Ggi* falls among only sporadically attested names of the Old Kingdom.⁴⁸³ There is only one more tomb owner of this name known by the several statues and a false door from the so far unallocated tomb at Saqqara.⁴⁸⁴

As far as his family members are concerned, there are no details known about his son *Kha* and his wife *Renpetneferet* except for the fact that his wife probably held the same title as *Ggi*, that is *hntjt-š*.

3.5.3 – Tomb III

This tomb is situated immediately to the east of the southern part of Tomb II. Due to its position, it is only the northern part with a corridor chapel and three shafts which is preserved.

3.5.3.1 – Superstructure

The superstructure of the tomb is represented by the partly preserved corridor chapel reaching a maximum height of 0.40 m. The length of the corridor chapel is about 5.00 m and its width 0.95 – 1.05 m (the corridor widens in the south direction). The walls of the corridor were plastered and whitewashed. There was a single niche in the west wall of the corridor, 0.72 m wide and 0.60 m deep. It corresponds with the middle of the shafts arranged in a north-south aligned row to the west of the corridor.

3.5.3.2 – Substructure

The substructure consisted of three shafts situated to the west of the corridor chapel (fig. 3.30). Shaft 2 presumably belonged to the tomb owner. This fact is attested by the niche in the corridor chapel and the burial itself.

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.08 × 1.05 m.

Depth: 0.70 m.

The side walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks.

Filling: 0 – bottom – wind blown sand.

Burial: No burial.

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 3.50 m.

The shaft was lined to a depth of 0.50 m with mudbricks laid in courses of headers and stretchers (0.28 × 0.13 × 0.09 m).

Filling: 0–0.60 m wind blown sand, 0.60–bottom original *tafl* fill.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the east wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was 0.85 m high, 1.00 m deep and 1.05 m long. There was no entrance wall nor burial equipment. The deceased was lying in an outstretched position on his back, with head to the north. The body was wrapped in a reed mat. Male burial (19–21 years, Excav. No. 19/FF/93).

Shaft 3

Shaft opening: 1.30 × 1.25 m.

Depth: 2.74 m.

The shaft was lined with mudbricks to a depth of 0.34 m.

Filling: 0–0.70 m wind blown sand, 0.70 – to the bottom *tafl* fill.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the south wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was 0.66 m high, 1.30 m deep and 1.20 m long. The chamber was disturbed and only several bones could be found. There was no entrance wall and no burial equipment. Male burial? (adultus II – maurus I, Excav. No. 17/FF/93).

3.5.4 – Tomb IV

Tomb IV was built as the last one within this cluster of tombs. It is situated in the free space between Tomb I and Tomb II.

3.5.4.1 – Superstructure

The ground plan of the tomb was restrained by the tombs situated in its close vicinity. The main access into the tomb was from the north. Another entrance was via an entrance secondarily broken in the northern wall of the corridor chapel of Tomb III. Both entrances gave way into a court measuring 10.35 m (north-south) and 2.85 m (east-west). The ground plan of the court was in fact delimited by the external west wall of Tomb I (eastern wall of the court), the external east wall of Tomb II (western wall of the court) and the external north wall of Tomb III (southern wall of the court). The floor was made of beaten clay and the walls of the court were left untreated.

There were three purification basins sunken into the floor of the open court. Basin 1 and 2 were aligned with the eastern wall of the court,

⁴⁸³ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 352.22.

⁴⁸⁴ PM III, p. 691; false door: CG 1455 – Borchardt, *Denkmäler des AR I*, pp. 142–144, Bl. 35; statues: CG 70–75 – Borchardt, *Statuen I*, pp. 60–62, Bl. 17.

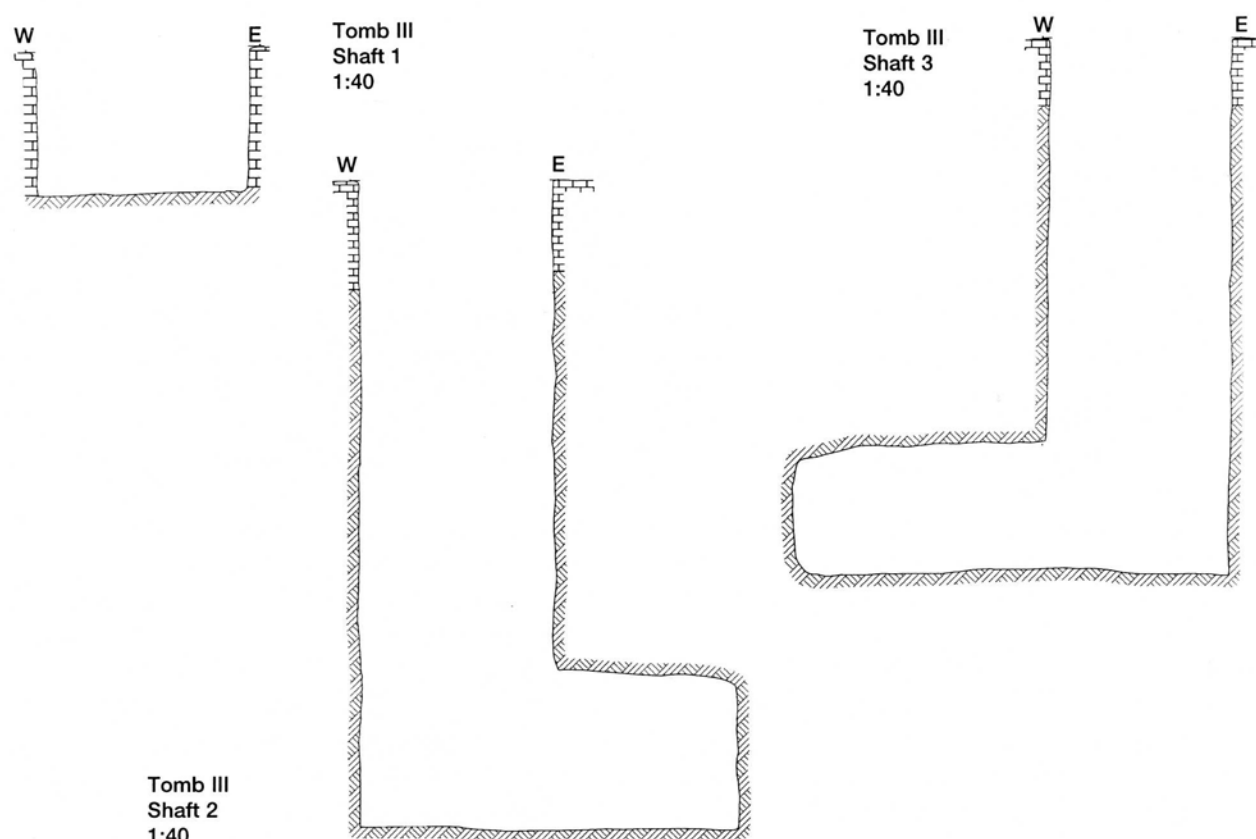


Fig. 3.30 – Tomb III, Shaft 1–3

whereas Basin 3 with the western wall of the court. There were two more burial shafts beside the west wall of the court, to the north of Basin 3. The interpretation of these three structures seems to be justified by the fact that their floors were plastered and (in one case, Basin 1) the floor was made on a layer of clean yellow sand. The character of these structures together with their position within the cemetery and their presumed function makes them one of the focal points within this part of the cemetery. These basins were in all probability used as purification installations for the visitors to the cemetery.⁴⁸⁵

Basin 1 (pl. XLVIA)

This basin was situated in the northeastern part of the wall, adjoining the eastern court wall. The basin was sunken into the floor of the court. It measured 2.70 m in length, 0.90 – 1.18 m in width and it was about 0.22 m deep. The floor of the basin was lying on a layer of clean yellow sand. The floor and the walls of the basin were plastered

and whitewashed. The side walls of the basin were lined with a single wall of two courses of mudbricks (0.26 × 0.11 × 0.09 m). The basin was divided by another mudbrick wall into two asymmetrical, northern and southern parts.

Basin 2

This basin lies immediately in front of the entrance into Tomb III (as seen from the north) or behind the entrance into Tomb IV (as seen from the south). It is square in ground plan (1.00 × 1.00 m) and about 0.60 m deep. The side walls of the basin were lined with mudbricks laid in courses of headers and stretchers (0.26 × 0.12 × 0.10 m). The floor and the walls of the basin were plastered with dark grey mortar.

Basin 3

This last basin was situated beside the western wall of the court, in its southern part. The basin measured 1.02 (east-west) × 1.10 m and it was 0.60 m deep. Its side walls were lined with mudbricks laid in courses of headers and stretchers (0.28 × 0.14 × 0.08 m). The floor and the walls of the basin were plastered with dark grey mortar.

⁴⁸⁵ For these and similar basins in the cemeteries during the Old Kingdom see Bárta, *Ä&L X* (2000): 59–60.

3.5.4.2 Substructure

The substructure was represented by two burial shafts beside the west wall of the court (fig. 3.31).

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.10 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 4.60 m.

Filling: 0 – bottom wind blown sand.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the western wall of the shaft, at a depth of about 2.00–2.30 m. The chamber (0.30 m high, 0.56 m deep and 0.98 m long) had an entrance blocked by a wall made of mudbrick fragments. The body of the deceased was lying in a strongly contracted position on the left side, oriented north-south, facing east, with arms probably embracing the knees. Female burial (adultus II, Excav. No. 12/FF/93).

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.10 × 1.10 m.

Depth: 4.10 m.

The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks to a depth of 0.40 m.

Filling: 0 – bottom wind blown sand.

Burial: There was a burial chamber in the eastern wall at the bottom of the shaft. The chamber was 0.38 m high, 1.10 m deep, 2.20 m long and it was entered through a 0.60 m long and 0.80 m wide passage. There was no entrance wall and no burial equipment. The burial was disturbed, nevertheless, it can be said that the body was originally laid in an outstretched position, oriented with head to the north. Male burial? (maturus I, Excav. No. 13/FF/93).

It is above all the distribution of basins and burial shafts within the court which are rather surprising and for which it is hard to find a sufficient explanation. The existence of several basins may be possibly explained in terms of their function. It is feasible that the court with its purification facilities may have been used by the visitors in the cemetery who first came here to wash themselves before they continued on their way to tombs. Two burial shafts would then have been secondary. This may be further supported by their unusual position in the court.

3.6 – Conclusions

1. Architectural importance of the cemetery

There are several features within the cemetery which call for some additional comment. As far as the spatial development of the cemetery is con-

cerned, it is possible to establish a tentative scheme for its gradual spread within the area examined so far. The first known builder at the cemetery is likely to have been Hetepi. He had built a typical family tomb furnished with an open court and corridor chapel with several burial shafts to the west of it. These shafts were intended not only for his own burial but also for some other members of his family. There were found altogether three burials in the shafts – one male, one female and one unidentifiable burial. We might not be wrong in thinking that Hetepi with his wife and perhaps their child were buried in the tomb.

Shortly thereafter, two other tombs were constructed, namely the double tombs of Fetekty and Mety and of Rahotep and Izeziseneb. Both these tombs made some use of the architectural layout of Hetepi's tomb. In the case of the tomb of Fetekty and Mety it was clearly the tomb of two men that counted among the wealthiest officials in the cemetery and there was no place for the burials of their wives, children or other relatives.

There is no explicit proof as for the relationship of these men but it could be possible that they might have had some relationship to Hetepi. It seems feasible that, after having attained a higher status, they decided to build independent, decorated tombs with limestone false doors. The relationship between Fetekty and Mety remains also unfathomable. It seems probable that Fetekty who had been buried in the tomb, had an eldest son named Fetekty (as shown by the evidence from the southern wall of the pillared court) and perhaps another son named Kaimen. Nothing has been preserved concerning the status of Mety.

As for Rahotep's tomb, Rahotep had been buried together with his wife in a single burial chamber. Their tomb has clearly been intended as a one or two-generation tomb at most. There is virtually nothing known about the person of Izeziseneb whose chapel was part of the tomb compound. His relationship to Rahotep is not clear at all and even his place of burial could not be detected.

On the other hand, the titles of Hetepi, Fetekty and Mety provide further arguments supporting their possible relationship, professional at least. They were all entitled as *(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt*. Hetepi and Fetekty were moreover *(j)m(j)-r pr-šn^c* and Mety was probably a *shd pr-šn^c*. The evidence for their names and titles both in their tombs and in the papyrus archive of Neferirkara shows also that

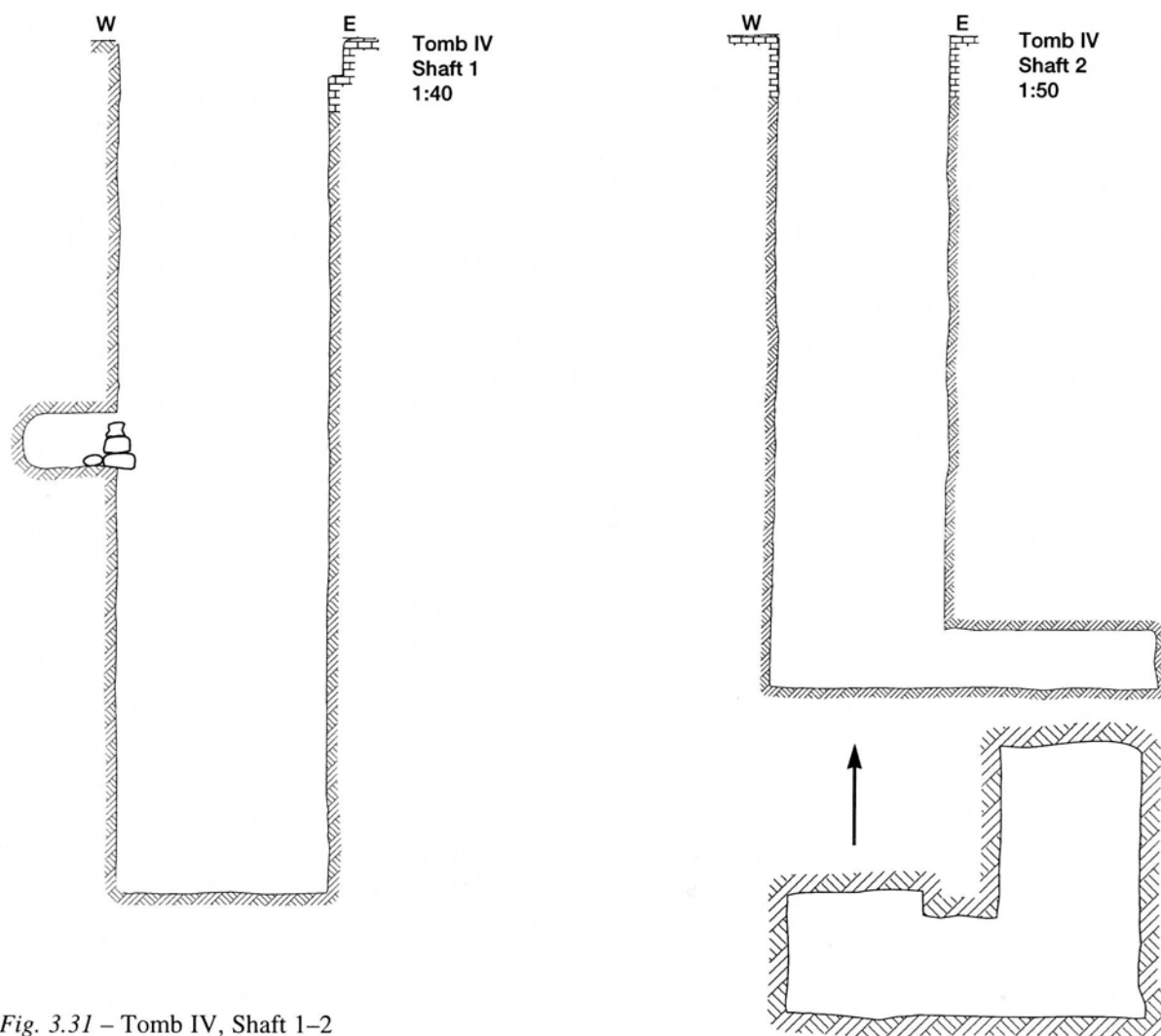


Fig. 3.31 – Tomb IV, Shaft 1–2

these men were probably employed at the mortuary complexes of the kings, such as in the complex of Neferirkara (Hetepi and Fetekty) or in the asyet-undiscovered complex of Menkauhor (Rahotep).

Subsequently, secondary Tombs I–IV were built in the southwest part of the examined cemetery. These family tombs, mostly anonymous, consisted only of simple and undecorated corridor chapels and shafts. The single exception is the tomb of Gegi (Tomb II) with an east-west oriented chapel and a partly preserved false door. His tomb, that was entered from the west as it is, may be indicative of the fact that it was built in the closing stage of the cemetery development and that it is the westernmost structure built in this cemetery.

2. Tomb decoration

There was virtually nothing of the original decoration preserved. The only tombs with some fragments of the painted decoration preserved were those of Fetekty/Mety and the chapel of Ize-

ziseneb in the tomb of Rahotep.

The best-documented decoration attested from this cemetery is that of the tomb of Fetekty and Mety. Unfortunately, this vanished long before the excavation in 1991. Thus it is that the only documentation that we have today was made by the Lepsius expedition over 150 years ago. Despite the fact that the scenes are likely to comprise several imperfections on the part of the copyist (resulting predominantly from his imperfect knowledge of the thematically complicated inscriptions), the vivid and detailed decoration of the pillared court is extremely important. Noted mainly for its unique market scenes and scenes of packing and transporting of cloth, some of Fetekty's scenes have even today only rare counterparts, and the tomb remains one of the main sources of our information about life in his time.

The evidence for decoration in the tomb of Fetekty and Mety discovered during the course of excavation in 1991 was very sparse. Remains of decoration were encountered in the pillared court

and newly in the corridor chapel, which had not been excavated by Lepsius at that time. It is above all the rare scenes depicting stages of the burial ritual on the western wall of the corridor chapel which fall among the more highly interesting scenes and sporadically depicted motifs occurring on the walls of the Old Kingdom tombs.

The decoration in the chapel of Izeziseneb was executed in the same technique and its scarce remainders were preserved only on the north wall. Apart from this, only the false doors of Fetekty, Mety, Rahotep, Izeziseneb and Gegi provide some information concerning the professional rank and status of the tomb owners.

3. The titles and occupations of the tomb holders (Table I)

Further evidence contributing to our knowledge of the time is displayed in the titles of individual tomb owners. There seems to be every possibility that some of them are possibly attested in other contemporary documents such as the non-royal tombs at Saqqara, or the papyrus archive of Neferirkara at Abusir. With the exception of Rahotep, all attested officials took an active part in funerary cult of the kings in Abusir and Saqqara.

The titles of Hetepi, Fetekty and Mety show that they were concerned with or even in charge of the magazines and offerings in the mortuary temple of Neferirkara. Also the title *(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt* held by Hetepi, Fetekty and Mety was during the late Fifth Dynasty associated with the service in the mortuary temples of the kings. It is probably by no chance that all three of them were also associated with the institution *pr-šn*^c (either in the rank of an inspector or overseer).

In the case of Hetepi, it seems to be clear that his duties were associated with the redistribution of offerings in the mortuary temple of Neferirkara and in tombs at Saqqara (in the tomb of Duaena with the title of *hr[j] wdb*).

A similar case can be seen with Fetekty, evidence for whom indicates that he was taking part in the upkeep of mortuary cults of several officials at Saqqara (in the rank of *hm-k3*) and that similar sort of duties were executed by him in the pyramid complex of Neferirkara.

The only exception to this group is represented by the titles of Rahotep, whose duties comprised certain services given within the royal court. Most of his titles are associated with offices with an intimate relationship to the king. He was in charge of the royal palace, the Lower Egyptian crown, the

diadem of the king, etc.

The record for family members of the tomb owners is very limited. The women seem to be only poorly documented in the examined tombs. There are no traces of their presence in the tomb decoration. They, given the archaeological evidence, possessed no false door and the only place where their names occur were the false doors of their husbands. On the false door of Fetekty, there is a woman on the right jamb smelling a lotus flower; on the false door of Rahotep, his wife Khenut is depicted, and on the false door of Gegi it is his wife Renpetneferet and his son Kha. In the case of Fetekty, we have additional evidence for his two sons, Fetekty and Kaimen, and by Rahotep for his son also named Rahotep and his wife Khenut.

4. Burials (table II)

The cemetery shows some interesting features with regard to the burials, too. On the basis of excavation work carried out so far it seems that it was mainly the burials of lower ranking officials. These eventually led towards establishing the category of "family tombs". This category refers to tombs with a row (or several rows) of burial shafts embedded within a single superstructure and intended for burials of the whole family (tombs which, in most cases, contained a higher number of burials).⁴⁸⁶

The shafts in these tombs are usually situated to the west of a single offering chapel – which now served equally for the cult of the whole family. However, not all of these shafts were used for burials. Given the relatively long duration of the cemetery, it always happened that some members of the family decided to build a new tomb elsewhere. The first examples mentioned in this publication were some of the Lake of Abusir tombs. The cemetery around the tomb of Fetekty displays the very same tendency. Therefore, in the following scrutiny not only the tombs in the cemetery of Fetekty are analysed, but also – when necessary – the Lake of Abusir burials.

Altogether 18 burials distributed in 7 tombs were discovered within the Fetekty cemetery: 9 males, 6 females, 3 children and 1 undetermined. To start with, the tomb of Hetepi is a clas-

⁴⁸⁶ This had already pointed out by A. Bolshakov, *BiOr* 51 (1994): 62: "...mastabas with numerous shafts are characteristic of the late Old Kingdom."

<i>Titles /Tomb owners</i>	<i>Hetepi</i>	<i>Izeziseneb</i>	<i>Rahotep</i>	<i>Fetekty</i>	<i>Mety</i>	<i>Gegi</i>
<i>(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt</i>	x			x	x	
<i>(j)m(j)-r pr-šn^c</i>	x			x		
<i>shd pr-(šn^c)</i>					x	
<i>r Nhn (n) z3b</i>		x				
<i>hr(j) sšt3 Ntrj jswt</i> <i>Mn-k3w-Hr</i>		x				
<i>(j)m(j)-hnt</i>			x			
<i>hr(j)-wdb m hwt-šnh</i>			x			
<i>(j)r(j) nfr-h3t</i>			x			
<i>sm3 Hr</i>			x			
<i>hm-ntr W3dt</i>			x			
<i>hrp hwwt (Nt)</i>			x			
<i>hrp šh</i>			x			
<i>(j)m(j)-jz</i>			x			
<i>...w^cb</i>			x			
<i>hr(j) sšt3 (n) mdw ntr</i>			x			
<i>hrp wsh^t</i>				x		
<i>hntj-š</i>						x

Table I: Tabulation of the titles attested within the cemetery

sical example of a family tomb. The tomb itself contained ten, regularly distributed shaft lips, (including a serdab), within the superstructure of tomb of which only three were used for burials. Shaft 1 (8.30 m deep with a male burial), Shaft 2 (6.20 m deep containing a male burial) and Shaft 7 (2.40 m deep with a female burial) are examples of this phenomenon. It is apparent that burials were concentrated (together with the serdab – Shaft 6) in the southern part of the tomb. The northern part was left unused with altogether six pre-cut shafts that were 2.20–2.40 m deep. This evidence allows similar conclusions to be drawn as in the case of the tombs around the Lake of Abusir. Under normal conditions, the male burials were placed in considerably deeper shafts than those of women. Another observation made is that shafts were dug only to a certain depth (slightly exceeding a depth of 2 m) and completely excavated to a greater depth only in the case of an actual burial.

This tomb, as well as the others, allows us to draw a conclusion that one of the most sensitive indicators of the status of the deceased was (apart from the false door with his titles) the depth of the shaft. The shafts were distributed regularly within

the superstructure of the tomb and the position of principal burials varied from tomb to tomb.⁴⁸⁷

Another important indicator of status was preference for the type of burial shaft (including the burial chamber) as defined by Reisner.⁴⁸⁸ Fetekty's cemetery as well as the cemetery at the Lake of Abusir demonstrated that the persons with most elevated status (such as presumed tomb owners, were without exception males, in some cases with their supposed wives) were distinguished by a relatively exclusive burial shaft of Type 4 (with variants 4a[1], 4a[2] and 4a[3]) which was attested only in the main shaft of the LA – Tomb 1 and LA – Tomb 2, Shaft 2 and 3). The same was the practice in the cemetery of Fetekty – there were only seven persons that possessed the privilege of being buried in such shafts: the tomb of Hetepi (Shaft 1), Rahotep and his wife, Tomb I – Shaft 1, 3 and 5, Tomb II – Shaft 4 and Tomb IV – Shaft 2. In one exceptional case we have an attestation of

⁴⁸⁷ The opposite conclusion was provided by the Giza cemetery of palace attendants examined by Roth in her *Giza Mastabas* 6, p. 18, where the principal burials concentrated in the south part of the tomb.

⁴⁸⁸ For their classification see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, p. 183ff.

shaft Type 2 in the burial of Fetekty. These shafts were usually the deepest and their burial chambers covered the biggest area in terms of square metres (see Chapter II, Conclusions and Tab. II in this chapter). The rest of the burials made use of Reisner's burial shaft types 6 and 7, clearly devised for less important persons buried in the cemeteries. These were shared both by males and females. In most instances, Type 4 was reserved for male burials and only in some cases also for female and child burials.

The tomb of Fetekty and Mety shows an apparent wealth of decoration otherwise unparalleled within the cemetery. This fact allows us to suppose (however hard it were to prove it!) that in some cases wealthier members of the family could afford their own tomb with decoration and the family relationship was expressed by the proximity of their tomb to the other tombs in the cemetery. The clustering of tombs during the latter half of the Old Kingdom (starting with Nyusera) according to kindred or social status (frequently combined together) is another apparent and typical feature resulting from the archaeological record.⁴⁸⁹ The importance of the person of Fetekty was furthermore emphasized by the elaborate burial shaft of Type 2 with a partly cased, large burial chamber covering an area of 3.48 sq. m. – comparable in size only with that of Rahotep and his wife (which was of Type 4a[1]).

Under normal circumstances, one would suppose that women should be buried in the same tomb (shaft) together with their husbands, but this does not seem to be the case at all. In the majority of instances, it is very hard to prove that a woman buried in her own shaft was the wife of a man in the neighbouring shaft since in most cases there are no explicit features that would enable us to establish their relationship. In some cases, such as the double burial of Rahotep and Khenut, the wife's burial is assumed, but very probable. A similar case may be found in the tomb of Hetepi. As a further complication, in some cases there are only male burials encountered within one tomb (Fetekty and Mety).

The number of burials for women and children present a special problem within Old Kingdom archaeology. There are far fewer burials than could be expected for this group in the Old Kingdom cemeteries. In the Fetekty cemetery,

however, the ratio 10:6:3 (male:female:children burials) provides some interesting information in this respect (a similar ratio has already been discovered in the Lake of Abusir tombs – 8:5:1).

Tomb I within this group presents the most marked case of differentiation, for here a greater number of female burials than usual was encountered. Three females (including one rare burial of a woman with a child⁴⁹⁰), one child, one male and one undetermined burial were identified. This shows that there were tombs where female burials even predominated. There is certainly some sex differentiation operating within the Fifth Dynasty cemeteries, for in Tomb I we can see that male burials were again placed in considerably deeper shafts when compared with women. Female burials were 4.80 m (Shaft 2), 2.50 (Shaft 4) and 2.70 m (Shaft 7) deep. The male burial (Shaft 5) was 5.50 m deep, the burial of a child (Shaft 3, given the depth of the shaft perhaps a boy?) was 5.50 m and the undetermined burial was 6.10 m deep (perhaps again a male given the depth of the shaft?). This tends to support the hypothesis suggested recently by V. G. Callender, that female burials are not missing from the Old Kingdom cemeteries. On the contrary, she supposes that female burials are to be expected in the so-called "minor" or "secondary" tombs/burials.⁴⁹¹ This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence from Abusir South.

Remaining tombs within the cemetery are in this respect not so useful for such analysis, but provide us with some additional information. In the case of Gegi (Tomb II) it was unfortunately impossible to excavate his actual burial place (Shaft 1) due to the inferior quality of the bedrock (a depth of 5.40 m was attained) but the remaining shafts contained the burial of a child (Shaft 4, depth 3.60 m) and a male burial (Shaft 5, depth 3.40 m). Tomb III contained two burials, both male ones (Shaft 2 and 3, depth 3.50 and 2.74 m).

Tomb IV was in fact not a tomb but more probably a court with purification and washing basins and as such served as a facility for the cemetery. The burial shafts encountered in the court (Shaft 1 and 2) are probably secondary (in terms of their later or additional construction) and contained one female (4.60 m deep) and one male (?, 4.10 m deep) burial.

⁴⁸⁹ For examples consult Weeks, *Giza Mastabas* 5 and Roth, *Giza Mastabas* 6.

⁴⁹⁰ Feucht, *Kind*, pp. 128–130 gives an overview of these burials.

⁴⁹¹ Callender, *AH* 25/1 (1995): 7.

Tomb/Description	A	B	C	D	E	F
Hetepi - Shaft 1	?	M?	8.32	4a(3)	2.16	
Hetepi - Shaft 2	?	M?	6.20	6c(3)	0.98	
Hetepi - Shaft 7	?	F	2.40-2.50	7c	0.92	rm
Rahotep - main burial	?	M + F	10.35	4a(4)	3.45	
Fetekty - Shaft 1	2	M	9.60	2brx	3.48	ls
Fetekty - Shaft 2	?	M	3.35	6a(3)	0.82	
Tomb I - Shaft 1	3	?	6.10	4a(2)	2.20	rm
Tomb I - Shaft 2	1	F	4.84	6c(3)	1.50	
Tomb I - Shaft 3	?	CH	5.50	4a(2)	2.75	
Tomb I - Shaft 4	?	F?	2.50	6c(1)	0.49	
Tomb I - Shaft 5	2	M	5.46	4a(3)	1.80	rm
Tomb I - Shaft 6	?	F + CH	2.70	6c(1)	0.80	
Tomb II - Shaft 4	?	CH	3.60	4a(2)	2.00	
Tomb II - Shaft 5	1	M?	3.40	6c(1)	0.98	rm + b
Tomb III - Shaft 2	2	M	3.50	6c(1)	1.05	rm
Tomb III - Shaft 3	?	M?	2.74	6c(1)	1.56	
Tomb IV - Shaft 1	1	F	4.60	6c(3)	0.55	
Tomb IV - Shaft 2	2	M?	4.10	4a(1)	2.42	

Table II Main features of the burials in the Fetekty cemetery

(A - attitude, B - sex, C - depth of the shaft, D - type of the burial chamber, E - size of the burial chamber in sq. m., F - remark, 1 - N-S oriented, contracted position on the left side facing east, 2 - N-S oriented outstretched position, 3 - E-W oriented, contracted position on the left side facing south, M - male burial, F - female burial, CH - child burial, b - bandages, ls - limestone sarcophagus, rm - reed mat)

There were no coffins for dead bodies, only simple matting (and one limestone sarcophagus in the exceptional case of Fetekty). In the majority of cases, the bodies were laid in an outstretched position in a north-south direction, looking east or in a contracted position and with the same orientation. In one case (Tomb I, Shaft 1) the body was placed in a contracted position in an east-west direction looking south. In another case (Tomb I, Shaft 3) the body of a child was placed in the burial chamber in a 10 cm deep depression covered by a limestone plate measuring 50–70 × 100–140 cm and 10 cm in thickness.

Nearly all the burials lacked burial equipment and only in some cases some sherds of daily pottery such as beer jars, bread moulds and bowls could be identified. In several cases it seems probable that they were originally placed in the burial chambers. All this shows that we have to do with low ranking officials.⁴⁹² Despite this fact, most of them were robbed and the burials destroyed.

5 Filling and building of the shafts

The shafts were built in the same manner as was the case with the Lake of Abusir tombs (see Chapter II). This means that their upper parts, embedded within the superstructure of the tomb, were cased with mudbricks, the rest hewn out of the *tafl* bedrock. At the bottom there was a burial chamber or a niche cut in the west or in the east wall of the tomb. The cavity for a burial was in some instances cut into the wall above the bottom of the shaft (Tomb II, Shaft 5, Tomb IV, Shaft 1). The shafts do not interfere with each other which implies, as Roth concludes, that either there were kept detailed records regarding the position and layout of individual burial shafts and chambers/niches or, that the shafts were all built more or less at the same time.⁴⁹³

The filling of the shafts was in most cases composed of wind blown sand mixed with *tafl* and mudbricks occasionally with some intrusive finds of pottery. In no case was an original fill encountered.

⁴⁹² For a similar situation see Roth, *Giza Mastabas* 6, p. 19.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19. •

6. Dating of the cemetery

According to some data supplied from the papyrus archive of Neferirkara's pyramid temple at Abusir (see above), one can assume that these tombs had been built during a relatively short span of time. The name of Hetepi occurs in a document dated to the reign of Izezi and Fetekty is attested from the sixth year of Unas. The basiliform name of Izeziseneb shows that its owner was also born during the reign of Izezi or thereafter.

It may therefore be presumed that most of the persons attested within this small cemetery had taken an active part in the temple duties at Abusir and, in one case, in the temple of Menkauhor at Saqqara. The probable founder of the cemetery was the official Hetepi, attested during the reign of Izezi. The whole cemetery so far examined had been built during the final stage of the Fifth Dynasty, i.e. during some 60–70 years covering the reigns of the Kings Menkauhor, Izezi and Unas.⁴⁹⁴

Remark 6

Note on the ships with hedgehog heads on the prow

From the Old Kingdom tombs there are only three attestations of the term *hntj* which relates to the boats ornamented with a head of a hedgehog.⁴⁹⁵ Junker translated the term as a “Schiff, Fahrzeug.”⁴⁹⁶ According to Altenmüller and Moussa, the term in question is to be understood as a designation used for boats with hedgehogs' heads on the prow.⁴⁹⁷ Hedgehog boats were not reserved exclusively for sailing boats within, but also for scenes depicting harpooning of the hippopotamus and the catching of birds,⁴⁹⁸ as well as for transportation boats.⁴⁹⁹ Following the recent study by Altenmüller,⁵⁰⁰ the basic function of representations of processions with hedgehog boats in tombs had to ensure the resurrection of the deceased symbolized by the day and night boats associated with the god Mekhentinty.

The earliest attestation of the hedgehog boats dates to the Fourth Dynasty,⁵⁰¹ the overwhelming number of these scenes, however, coming from the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties.⁵⁰² From this period there are also attested small pottery and faience models of hedgehog ships, most of them discovered within the votive offerings inside the temple of Satet on Elephantine.⁵⁰³ This evidence probably provides a feasible explanation for the interpretation of this phenomenon.

According to Dreyer,⁵⁰⁴ the ship models functioned as *apotropaia* intended to secure a safe passage for the Egyptian ships on their way to or from Nubia. The models were in turn dedicated in the sanctuary on Elephantine island by the sailors from these boats. The same function, however,

⁴⁹⁵ Junker, *Giza V*, p. 64; 63, fig. 14b – tomb of Seneb; Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pp. 90–92; pl. 30; fig. 11; Fetekty – LD II, pl. 90. Jones, *Nautical titles and terms*, p. 142, No. 53, gives no explanation: “kind of boat (?)”.

⁴⁹⁶ Junker, *Giza V*, p. 64.

⁴⁹⁷ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, p. 92. See also Düring, *Schiffbau*, p. 143.

⁴⁹⁸ von Droste, *Igel im Alten Ägypten*, p. 25; Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII*, p. 78.

⁴⁹⁹ von Droste, *Igel im Alten Ägypten*, p. 25.

⁵⁰⁰ Altenmüller, *SAK 28* (2000): 1–27.

⁵⁰¹ Simpson, Dunham, *Giza Mastabas I*, p. 12; pls. 3b; 5a; fig. 5.

⁵⁰² See Junker, *Giza V*, pp. 69–71 with an overview of the scenes. For the complete list see now Altenmüller, *SAK 28* (2000): 3–19.

⁵⁰³ Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII*, pp. 76–79; Kat. Nr. 202–243; 118–121, pls. 37–39.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79. For the earlier opinions see, for instance, Boreaux, *Études Nautique*, p. 420; von Droste, *Igel im Ägypten*, pp. 45–46; Hornung, Staehelin, *Skarabäen*, pp. 117–118.


⁴⁹⁴ Beckerath, *Chronologie*, p. 155: 67 years.





does not contradict the use of such ships for activities such as the catching of birds or the like during which the security and safe return home was also one of the desirable goals of the crew. This protective function seems to be in accordance with the latest archaeological finds of such models.⁵⁰⁵

Remark 7

It has generally been supposed that there were two different kinds of linen which read *jdmy*⁵⁰⁶ and *jdmyt*⁵⁰⁷ at the beginning of the offering list development.⁵⁰⁸ Junker supposed that both terms – which were later on assimilated – referred to some kinds of red linen.⁵⁰⁹ The existence of these two different kinds of linen – one written with the sign of a hawk on the perch and the second one phonetically as *jdmyt* is well-attested from the Third and the first half of the Fourth Dynasties.⁵¹⁰ A slightly older variant seems to be the occurrence of the linen with the hawk on the perch – the earliest examples are to be found with the slab stele of Nytu and Nytnet from Saqqara dating to the Second and the Third Dynasty,⁵¹¹ on the slab-stele of Gemenseshet (Berlin Nr. 23217)⁵¹² of the Third Dynasty⁵¹³ and on the stele of Nefertibet from Giza (G 1225) from the reign of Khufu.⁵¹⁴

On all these monuments, the sign of the hawk on the perch heads the linen-lists. From Meidum, there is evidence that these two kinds of linen figured side by side at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. On the false door of Nefermaat, the

linen-list is headed by the  linen and followed

by the , ,  and .⁵¹⁵ It is also one of the earliest occurrences of the *(j)dmj(t)* linen. Therefore, the *(j)dmj(t)* -linen seems to have its place within the linen lists relatively late.

As early as during the middle of the Fourth Dynasty, however, these two types of linen assimilate so that on the false door of Mery the pho-

netic writing for the word *dmj* is determined by the sign of the hawk resting on the perch.⁵¹⁶ From this moment onwards, the word is written out phonetically as *dmj* or *jdmy* and is determined by the sign of the hawk resting on the perch.⁵¹⁷

⁵⁰⁵ Van Haarlem, *JEA* 82 (1996): 197–198, pl. 20, 1.–2.

⁵⁰⁶ *Wb* I, 153.16.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 153.17–18. Attested for instance in the *PT* 816b.

⁵⁰⁸ For the linen list see Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 134–149.

⁵⁰⁹ Junker, *Giza* I, pp. 177–78.

⁵¹⁰ For an alternative reading as *jtjwj* see Kahl, *Hieroglyphenschrift*, p. 515.

⁵¹¹ Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, p. 37 and 158–159.

⁵¹² Scharff, in *Fs. Griffith*, pl. 57.

⁵¹³ Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 143.

⁵¹⁴ Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, pp. 187–9.

⁵¹⁵ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 20.

⁵¹⁶ Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, pp. 108–111.

⁵¹⁷ Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*, pp. 34–36. See also Der Manuelian, in Guksch, Polz, eds., *Stationen*, pp. 130–132.

Chapter IV:

THE TOMB OF KAAPER¹

4.1 State before excavation

The tomb of Kaaper first became known in 1959, when H. G. Fischer published his study dealing with some parts of the decoration from this tomb (pl. XLVIIa).² His article tackled in detail four photographs (denoted by Fischer as S1–S4) obtained from the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation at that time from an unknown tomb chapel located somewhere in the Abusir–Saqqara necropolis. These photographs had evidently been made prior to 1956.³ In addition to this material, Fischer was able to identify another couple of blocks which are housed in several museums in the United States (The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas – today's The Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, The Institute of Arts, Detroit, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) which apparently came from this mastaba and thus augmented his study. Clearly, these blocks were acquired by the museums after World War II.⁴ Despite the research regarding their provenance, there was no information that would enable a more precise location of the tomb within the Saqqara necropolis. It just seemed probable that the tomb had been subject to a clandestine excavation during World War I.⁵

The tomb was located and identified only in 1989 by the Inspectorate of the Saqqara Zone of Antiquities. It was built on the top of a low hill

situated across the *Wadi Abusiri* to the west of the North Saqqara Late Period galleries. The Saqqara Inspectorate managed to rescue several loose blocks from the tomb and numbered them 1–12.⁶ The reason for this was due to recent tomb robbers' activity in this tomb (pls. XLVIIb, XLVIIIa–c). The blocks were photographed and stored in the Saqqara magazines. In 1989, M. Verner was able to photograph them anew and to take their precise measurements.

Two years later, in 1991, the tomb was excavated within the framework of the long-term project for the survey and exploration of the area of Abusir South by the Czech Institute of Egyptology. The badly looted tomb of Kaaper was the first scientifically explored tomb in the area, mainly because of the fact that it became clear that it was urgent to examine, rescue and restore its exploited chapel.

4.2 Excavation of the tomb

4.2.1 Superstructure

The rescue excavation of the tomb concentrated on the uncovering of the eastern front of the tomb and, above all, on the clearance and restoration of the much destroyed chapel within the southeastern part of the tomb's superstructure. The ground plan of the tomb, aligned in a north-south direction, measured 41.20 × 19.20 m (covering an area of 791 sq. m.).

The mastaba was built behind the earlier tomb of Ity (see Chapter I), abutting on its western side.

¹ For the publications see *PM* III, p. 501; Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 233–272; Verner, *ZÄS* 120 (1993): 84–105.

² Fischer *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 233–272.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 233, pls. 5–9.

⁴ Verner, *ZÄS* 120 (1993): 84.

⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 233 – 234.

⁶ This numbering is used throughout the chapter.

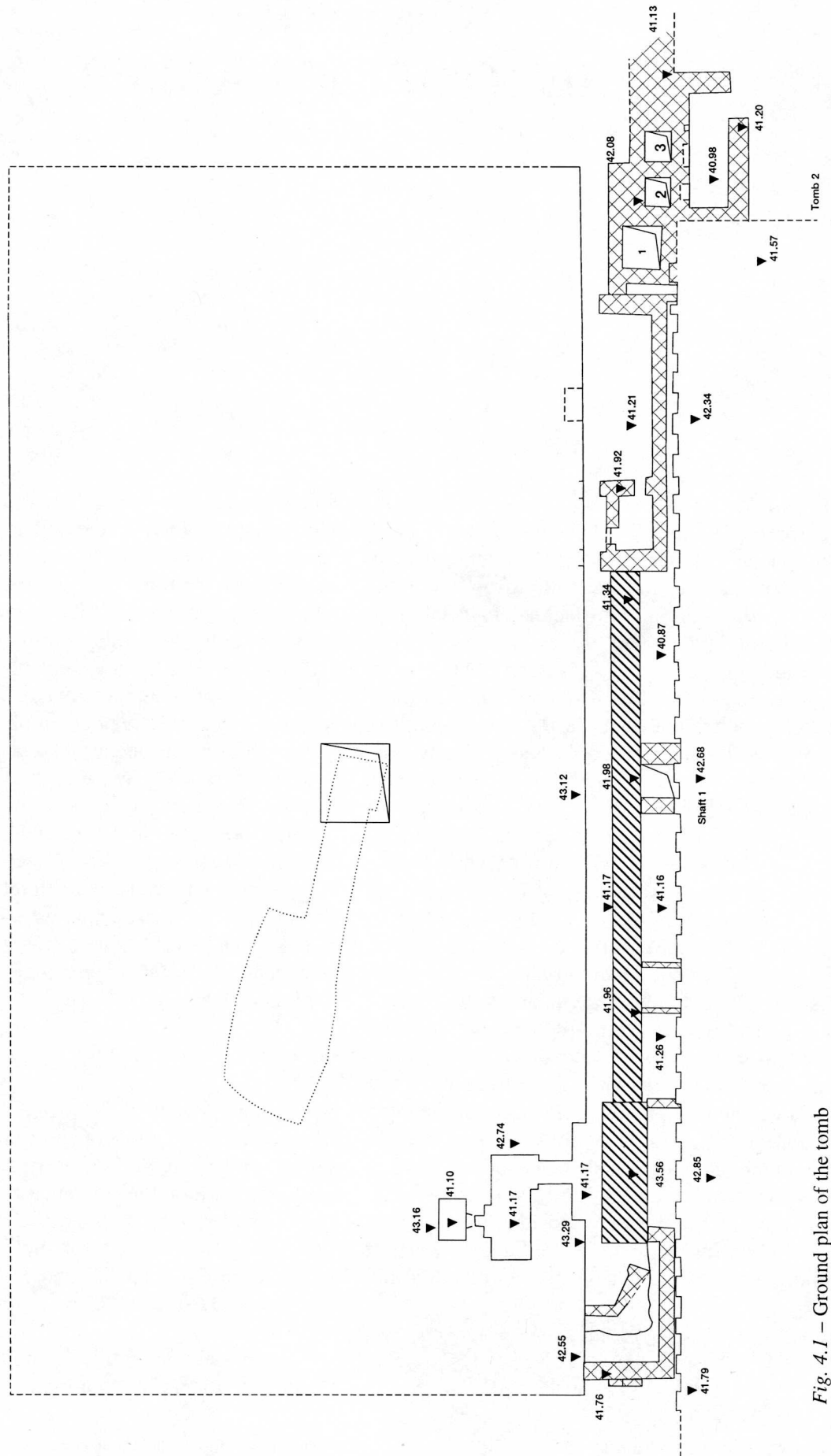


Fig. 4.1 – Ground plan of the tomb

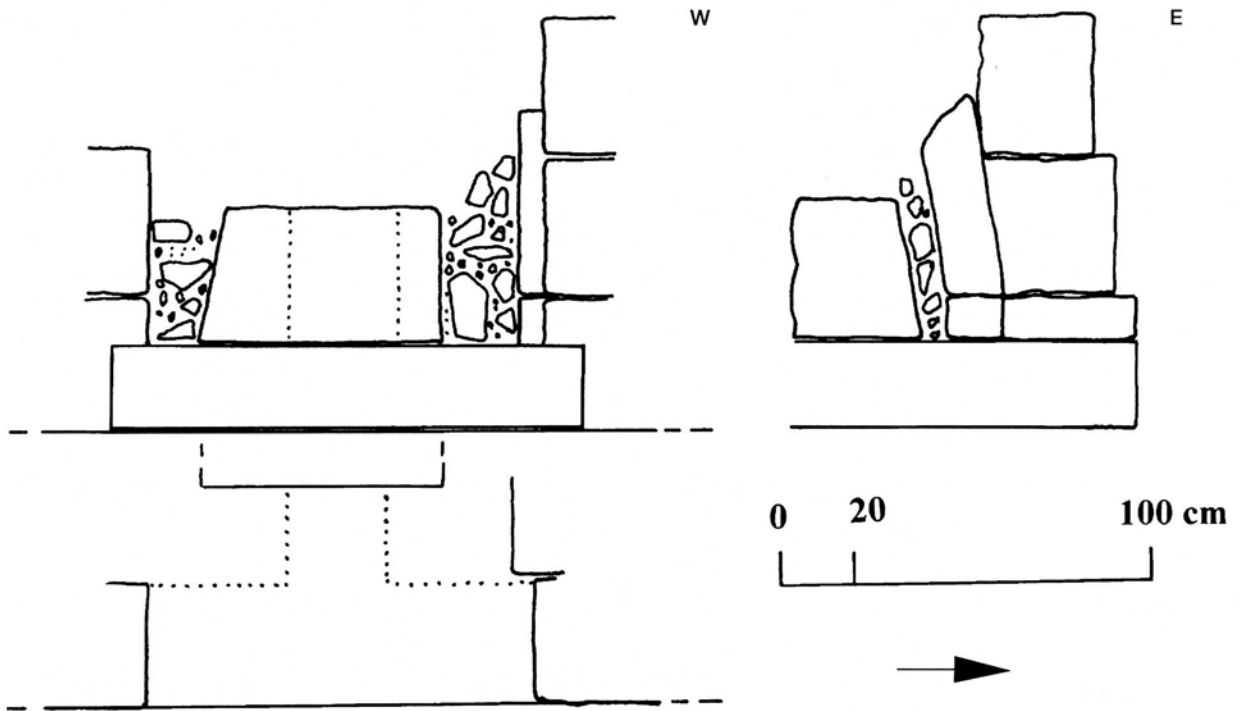


Fig. 4.2 – Northern niche, details

There was only a 3 m wide corridor left between the tombs. This space was used by the architect both to provide the tomb with some additional facilities and to protect the chapel (pls. XLVIIa–b).

In front of the chapel, a “screening wall” of limestone blocks was built (pl. XLIXa). It measured 4.63×1.56 m in ground plan and was 2.25 m high at the moment of its discovery. Its function was probably to protect the facade decoration and the chapel.⁷ The space between the tombs of Ity and Kaaper had been divided in a north-south direction by a low stone wall into two areas (pl. XLIXb). The wall was made of local limestone lumps joined by dark muddy mortar and was about 0.55 m wide and 0.90 m high. It starts to the north of the tomb chapel and continues for another 17.80 m. The area to the east of the wall was inaccessible and it was used as a refuse place during the cult activities in the chapel. The area to the west of the wall represented the principal access into the chapel from the north and formed a corridor. The stone wall seems to have been used as a basis for a mudbrick vault which in all likelihood originally protected the corridor leading into the chapel (see below, remarks on stratigraphy). At its northern end, a small mudbrick magazine measur-

ing 1.80×1.10 m was built; it could be entered both from the west and north.

Abutting the northern wall of the magazine there was a small courtyard of 6.00×2.30 m. In the west wall of the mastaba, 7.50 m from its northern corner, the northern niche was originally embedded (fig. 4.2, pls. La–b). The niche started 0.24 m above the floor level of the corridor. It was 1.04 m wide and 0.34 m deep, with jambs 0.38 m long. The central niche was 0.28 m wide and 0.26 m deep. The niche is situated in such a way that it is in the centre of the courtyard. Therefore it is likely that the courtyard and the magazine were built as additional facilities providing for the activities conducted in front of the cult niche. In front of it, at a height of 0.80 – 1.00 m was discovered a compact destruction, a large part of which was originally the mudbrick vault from the corridor. The north wall of the courtyard closed the tomb compound, leaving only a space of 0.50 at the eastern facade of the tomb. It thus formed the only possible entrance from the north. On the south, the tomb compound was closed by another mudbrick wall 0.50 m wide.

The tomb was built of Z-masonry.⁸ The facade of the tomb was built of local limestone blocks with six courses of casing preserved on the eastern

⁷ A similar wall of mudbrick was built, for instance, in front of the mastaba of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir.

⁸ Reisner; *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 178; 179, figs. 86–87.

The tomb of Kaper
N-S section
1:100

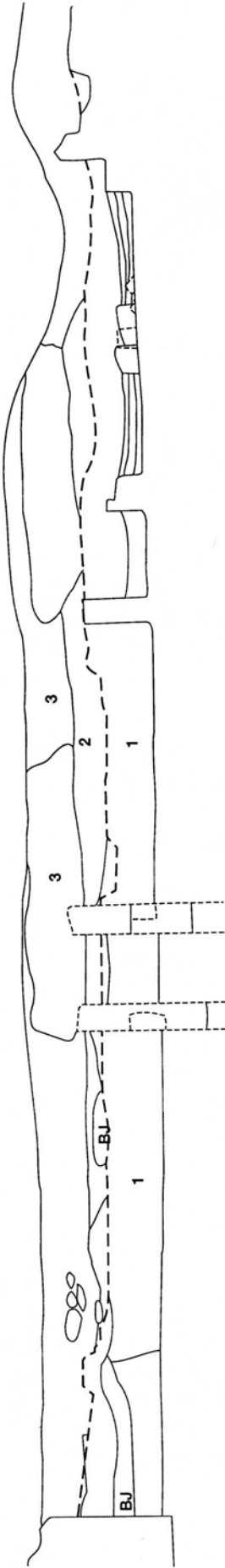


Fig. 4.3 – Section showing the debris and layers in the refuse area

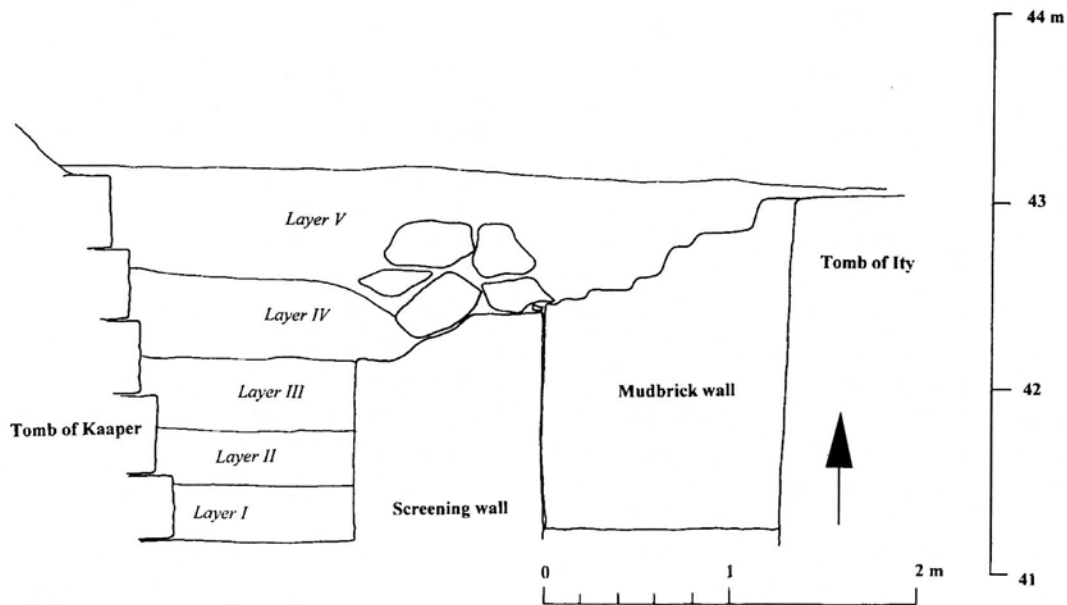


Fig. 4.4 – E-W section of the debris and layers in the corridor

front. Individual courses of masonry were about 0.40 m high and 0.40 – 0.55 m deep, each course being set back for 5 cm, thus creating a facade inclination of 80 degrees. The core masonry consisted of loose material, such as sand and limestone lumps and flakes. Reisner gives two examples of this masonry: G 1020 (tomb of Mesa), and a slightly modified masonry (double eastern face) of tomb G 2150 (Kanefer), both of the late Fourth – the early Fifth Dynasty and therefore roughly contemporaneous with Kaaper.⁹

The stratigraphy discovered in the course of excavation revealed some important features connected to the mastaba. Clear stratigraphic sequences were discernible in two areas. The first sequence of layers and deposits was documented in the corridor leading from the north into the chapel of Kaaper (fig. 4.4). The accumulation of layers here was 2.10 m high. The lowermost layer was 0.30 m high and consisted of a dense and compact mudbrick destruction including the complete and large parts of disintegrated mudbricks mixed with Old Kingdom fragments of pottery (Layer I). This layer may be indicative of the original mudbrick vault protecting the corridor that later collapsed.¹⁰ This layer was followed first by a 0.30 m high deposit of yellow, wind-blown sand with some Old Kingdom pottery (Layer II) and, subsequently, by a 0.40 m high layer of the same characteristics and with broken mudbricks and

mud (Layer III). The next layer of wind-blown sand with limestone fragments and eroded Old Kingdom pottery was 0.40 m high (Layer IV). The final layer was composed of wind-blown sand with large limestone blocks and chips from the collapsing masonry of the tomb (Layer V). This layer started about 1.40 m above the floor of the corridor and was 0.60–0.70 m high.

The second accumulation of several different layers was documented in the refuse area between the stone wall and the western wall of the tomb of Ity (fig. 4.3). The lowermost layer, 0.50–1.00 m high, consisted of wind-blown sand mixed with broken mudbricks, Old Kingdom pottery and limestone chips (fig. 4.3–1). At a height of about 0.80 m above the floor level, adjoining the north face of the screening wall in front of the chapel, there was found a nest of beer jars, probably from the cult in the chapel (pl. L1a). Another nest of beer jars was discovered 6 m further to the north (fig. 4.3–BJ). This time, it contained 10 beer jars. In both cases, it may be supposed that the pottery was deposited here after its use for the cult in the chapel (see the section on pottery below). The following layer, starting at a height of about 1.00 m, was a dense layer of mudbricks, mud, sand and Old Kingdom pottery fragments which was 0.30–0.50 m high (fig. 4.3–2). At a height of 1.50 m the final layer of wind-blown sand commenced; it contained large limestone blocks and chips from the collapsed masonry of the mastaba. The overall height of the layers was approximately 2.00–2.20 m (fig. 4.3–3).

⁹ PM III, p. 53 and 77.

¹⁰ For this type of roofing see Nagar, *Les voûtes*, p. 165ff. ("les voûtes en berceau en brique").

Both sequences attest to the mechanism of depositional processes: the lowermost layer in the corridor, about 0.30 m high, is associated with the first stage in the destruction of the tomb dominated by the collapse of the mudbrick vault which was originally sheltering the corridor. There were no artefacts on the floor that could be associated with the cult in the chapel – it was the main approach into the chapel and therefore it was kept clean as long as activity in the chapel persisted there.¹¹

A similar character of this layer was in the “refuse area” (to the east, behind the low limestone wall) which was almost 1.00 m high. All refuse from the chapel and from the corridor was accumulated in this area. To this fact we also owe two accumulations of beer jars. These jars were undoubtedly used in rituals conducted within the chapel and then discarded in the refuse area. Most of them were almost complete and they may be dated to the first half of the Fifth Dynasty. The second discernible feature is the final period in the tomb history, characterised by the massive destruction of the stone masonry of the tomb, which is in both cases discernible at a height of about 1.40–1.50 m and the layer is about 0.50–0.60 m thick. This layer of sand and stone destruction also contained a number of large limestone blocks and lumps that were up to 1.40 m long.

4.2.1.1 Facade and entrance of the chapel

The entrance into the chapel was situated 5.70 m from the southeast corner of the tomb. It consisted of a deep recess which was 3.17 m wide and 2.35 m high (pl. LIb). In the middle, it was broken by the tomb entrance. The jambs to the south and to the north of the entrance were 1.17 m and 1.20 m, wide respectively. The decorated elements in this part of the tomb originally included the jambs, the lintel above the entrance and the entrance thickness (fig. 4.7).

The decoration of jambs had been completely removed, except for a small fragment with the head of Kaaper (pls. LIIa, LXXXVIIIa). This fragment was preserved *in situ* on the northern jamb, in the top right corner, starting at a height of 1.85 m above the floor level. The fragment is 24.50 cm high and 15.50 cm wide. It shows the rear part of the wig of Kaaper. The topmost row of locks that overlap is twice the height of the rest of the rows, and is filled with fine, almost vertical, dividing

lines slightly inclined towards the vertical axis of the head.¹² The topmost row of the wig is not as pronounced as in most of the reliefs of the late Third – early Fourth Dynasty (for instance, the tomb of Rahotep at Meidum,¹³ Hesyra at Saqqara,¹⁴ tomb of Netjeraperef at Dahshur and his stela in the Cairo Museum,¹⁵ Iynefer¹⁶ and Khufukhaf [I] at Giza¹⁷). Nevertheless, examples comparable or identical with the wig of Kaaper may be found throughout the Fourth and the early Fifth Dynasty (early Fourth Dynasty of Akhetaa,¹⁸ a Fourth Dynasty panel of Merib,¹⁹ reliefs from tombs of Sekhentika and Setjuw of the Fourth – mid Fifth Dynasty,²⁰ the Fourth Dynasty slab stelae²¹ or the early Fifth Dynasty tombs at Giza²²). Therefore, any attempt to use this detail for a more precise dating must be taken with some reservation.²³

Loose block No. 1 (fig. 4.5, pl. LIIf), which was rescued from the tomb by the Saqqara Inspectorate in 1989, also probably comes from the facade decoration. The block is 0.15 m long, 0.36 m high and 0.16 m thick. It shows a small part of a male shoulder executed in a low relief. Behind and above him are the remains of a name *K3(j)-5pr(w)*.

Given the measurements of the right jamb (the top of the wig of Kaaper 2.05 m above the floor), it may be supposed that, initially, there was a standing figure of Kaaper facing south. Contemporary

¹² H. G. Fischer was able to show that the height of the topmost row of the locks is reduced throughout the Old Kingdom. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, p. 55 (Criterion 28) attempted to date this kind of wig into the Fourth Dynasty (down to the reign of Menkaura, whereas Baud, *Famille royale*, p. 16, tab. 1, dates its disappearance at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty). This wig, however, occurs as early as at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty and persists well into the mid Fifth Dynasty – see e.g. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 74–75, figs. 9a and b, fig. 27 between pp. 166–167 – tomb of Nesutnefer; p. 131, fig. 15 – tomb of Kai.

¹³ Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 9, 10, 12–14.

¹⁴ Quibel, *Hesy*, pls. 30.4, 31.5, 32.

¹⁵ Alexanian, *Netjer-aperef*, p. 54, fig. 26, 59, fig. 28, fig. 29 between pp. 62–63 and pl. 10.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, pls. 15c and 18c–e.

¹⁷ Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 3*, figs. 26 and 33, pls. 15c, 16a, 23 and 24.

¹⁸ Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, pp. 101–103.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 105–107.

²⁰ Jørgensen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I*, pp. 53–55.

²¹ G 1205 – tomb of Khufunekhet, G 1223 – tomb of Kamah, G 1235 – tomb of Iny, see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pls. 18a, 19a, 20b.

²² Tomb of Merib – Junker, *Giza I*, p. 128, fig. 11; tomb of Kanenesut (I) – *ibid.*, fig. 18 between pp. 150–151; tomb of Seshathotep – *ibid.*, p. 182, fig. 28.

²³ So already by Der Manuelian, in Guksch, Polz, eds., *Stationen*, p. 129.

¹¹ For this feature connected with communications see Bárta, *PA 87* (1996): 137ff.

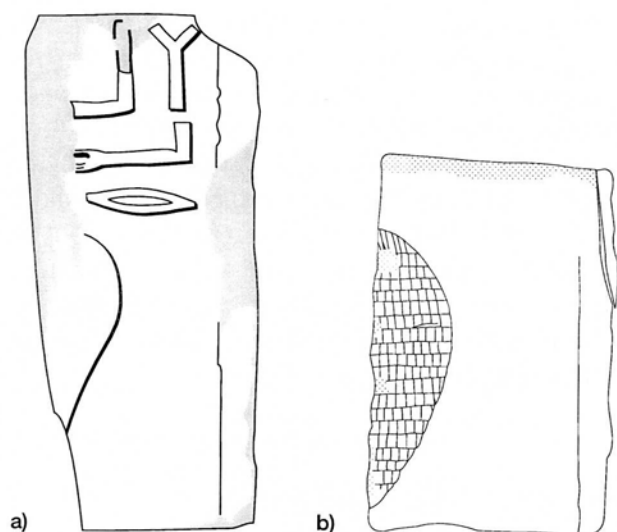


Fig. 4.5 – Loose block 1 (a) and facade decoration *in situ* (b) (1 : 5)

parallels from Giza²⁴ show that there was a certain degree of variation as to the jamb decoration but in most cases the jambs were decorated with a single standing figure of the tomb owner leaning against a staff and facing the entrance (Kanefer,²⁵ Washptah,²⁶ Merib,²⁷ Sekhemkara²⁸ and Kai²⁹).

Above the entrance originally was a lintel – nowadays kept in the collection of Fondation Martin Bodmer at Geneva (fig. 4.6, pl. LIII).³⁰ The lintel is 3.02 m long, 0.22 m high and 0.035–0.050 cm wide. The inscription is executed in a very fine example of hieroglyphs cut in a low relief. It reads from the right to the left and comprises three parts consisting of offering formulae, a list of feasts and several titles and the name of Kaaper. On all four sides it is bordered by a narrow frame.³¹

²⁴ Harpur's list (*Decoration*, pp. 307–308, tab. 4.7) shows that there are no parallels at Saqqara.

²⁵ Kanefer is shown standing leaning on a staff with subsidiary servant figures (left jamb) and in the company of his wife and followed by servants (right jamb) – Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, figs. 264–265.

²⁶ Both jambs show Washptah standing, leaning on a staff and facing toward the entrance – Hassan, *Giza II*, p. 8, fig. 7.

²⁷ Both jambs show him standing, leaning on a staff, holding a sceptre and facing toward the entrance, accompanied by a minor figure of his son – LD II, pl. 18.

²⁸ The tomb owner on both jambs is standing, leaning on a staff and holding a piece of cloth, facing toward the entrance – Hassan, *Giza IV*, p. 107, fig. 54; pl. 33 B–C.

²⁹ Kai is shown on the right jamb standing, leaning on a staff and facing the entrance – Hassan, *Giza III*, p. 32, fig. 31; pl. 14 – 2.

³⁰ PM III, p. 762 and Chappaz, Vuilleumier, eds., "*Sortir au jour*", pp. 73–75. The block was bought by the Fondation from the antiquarian Nicolas Koutoulakis in December 1969 (I owe this information to Dr. H. E. Braun, former Director of the

The inscription is arranged in a single line made of short columns without dividing lines, this practice being indicative of the early Fifth Dynasty.³² The distribution of signs is irregular in different parts of the inscription. At the beginning, the signs are distributed evenly and equally spaced. Then, starting with the group *m-nb* the signs are condensed, as if the craftsman was afraid of insufficient space for the intended decoration. This tendency disappears at the end of the inscription, where the signs are arranged very loosely. The inscription reads as follows:



Htp dj nswt, htp dj Inpw, hnt(j) zh-ntr, hnt(j) t3-dsr, krs m hrt-ntr, m nb jm3h(w) [m-hr] i3wt nfr(t) wrt hr ntr-3. Prt-hrw n.f [m] t(3), hnkt, jh, trp, sr, [m] W3g, Dhtjt, tp(j)-rnpt, wp(t)-rnpt, prt-Mnw, s3d, rkh, tp(j)-3bd, hb-nb r^c-nb. tp(j)-hrt nswt, hm-ntr Hkt, d-mr (n) z3b, K3(j)-pr(w).

"A boon which the king (gives), a (boon) which Anubis gives (1), who is in front of the divine booth, and of the Sacred Land/necropolis (2),³³ a funeral in the cemetery as a well-provided lord (3), (after having attained) a good old age (4) in the presence of the Great God. Invocation offerings for him (consisting of) bread, beer, cattle and fowl (5) on the (feasts of) Wag, Thot, First day of the year, New Year's feast, coming forth by Min, the *sadj* feast, the *rekeh* feast, the first day of the month and every feast every day (6). Lector priest, priest of Heket, d-mr official of z3b, Kaaper."

Fondation, letter of 3.4. 1996). The block is currently exhibited in one of the show rooms of the Fondation. No further details are available.

³¹ For the lintels in general see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 44–48.

³² Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 44, see, for instance, Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18 or Khainpu – Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, p. 208, top of the page (first half of the Fifth Dynasty).

³³ For the meaning of *dsr* as "necropolis" see Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the vocabulary*, pp. 85–87.

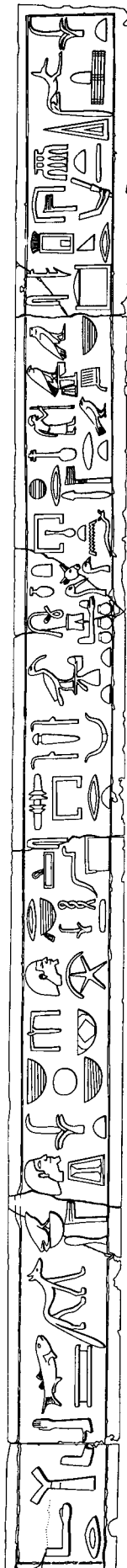





Fig. 4.6 – The lintel above the entrance into the chapel (1 : 12)

1) The inscription starts with the offering formula *htp dj nswt htp dj Jnpw*.³⁴ The individual signs for the king and the ideogram for Anubis are arranged honorifically.³⁵ After this formula follow two epithets of Anubis “(who is in front) of the divine booth” and “who is in front of the Sacred Land.”³⁶ This reading requires that the sign for *hnt(j)* is to be read elliptically twice, once in combination with *zh ntr* in the horizontal line and once together with *t3 dsr* in the line below.³⁷ The less frequent writing of *zh ntr* in combination with the

sign  O 22 (without the central pole support)

and  R 8 finds its close parallels in the tombs of Shery³⁸ and Merib at Giza.³⁹

2) Following the formula goes a wish for a “burial in the necropolis as a well-provided person (after having attained) a good and old age” (“Bitte 4&5”) “in the presence of the Great God.”⁴⁰ The

graphical rendering of  is attested as early as the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty in the tomb of Rahotep at Meidum.⁴¹

3) As was the case in the previous part, here again the logic of the inscription requires that the preposition *m* is to be read twice in combination with *hrt-ntr* and *nb jm3h*. Similar elliptical reading of the preposition *m* is for instance attested in the tomb of Kanenesut (I) where it reads *m hrt-ntr* which follows below the preposition and *m nb jm3h* which follows in the next column.⁴²

4) See the discussion on p. 42, libation basin of Shedw.

5) The “Bitte 2”⁴³ asking for invocation offerings is followed in this case by an abbreviated list of the principal offerings consisting of bread, beer, cattle *jhw* and fowl.⁴⁴ As for the fowl, under normal circumstances, the white-fronted goose *trp* (*Anser*

³⁴ For the latest discussion on the formula see Satzinger, *LingAeg* 5 (1997): 177–184, espec. p. 180.

³⁵ Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 12, §27 and 18, §32. For the writing of the name of Anubis see Witkowski, *ET* 12 (1983): 38–51.

³⁶ For the epithets of Anubis see Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, p. 22.

³⁷ For these epithets of Anubis see Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 15; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, pp. 22–23.

³⁸ Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 257, fig. 117.

³⁹ *LD* II, pl. 18.

⁴⁰ Barta, *Opferformel*, pp. 16–17.

⁴¹ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13. For the graphic variants see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* I, pp. 52–53.

⁴² See Junker *Giza* II, fig. 18 and pl. 6a, b.

⁴³ See Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 16.

⁴⁴ For the reading *jhw* see Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 127–129, §223–225. For *jhw* see then Paton, *Animals*, p. 2, E 3a.

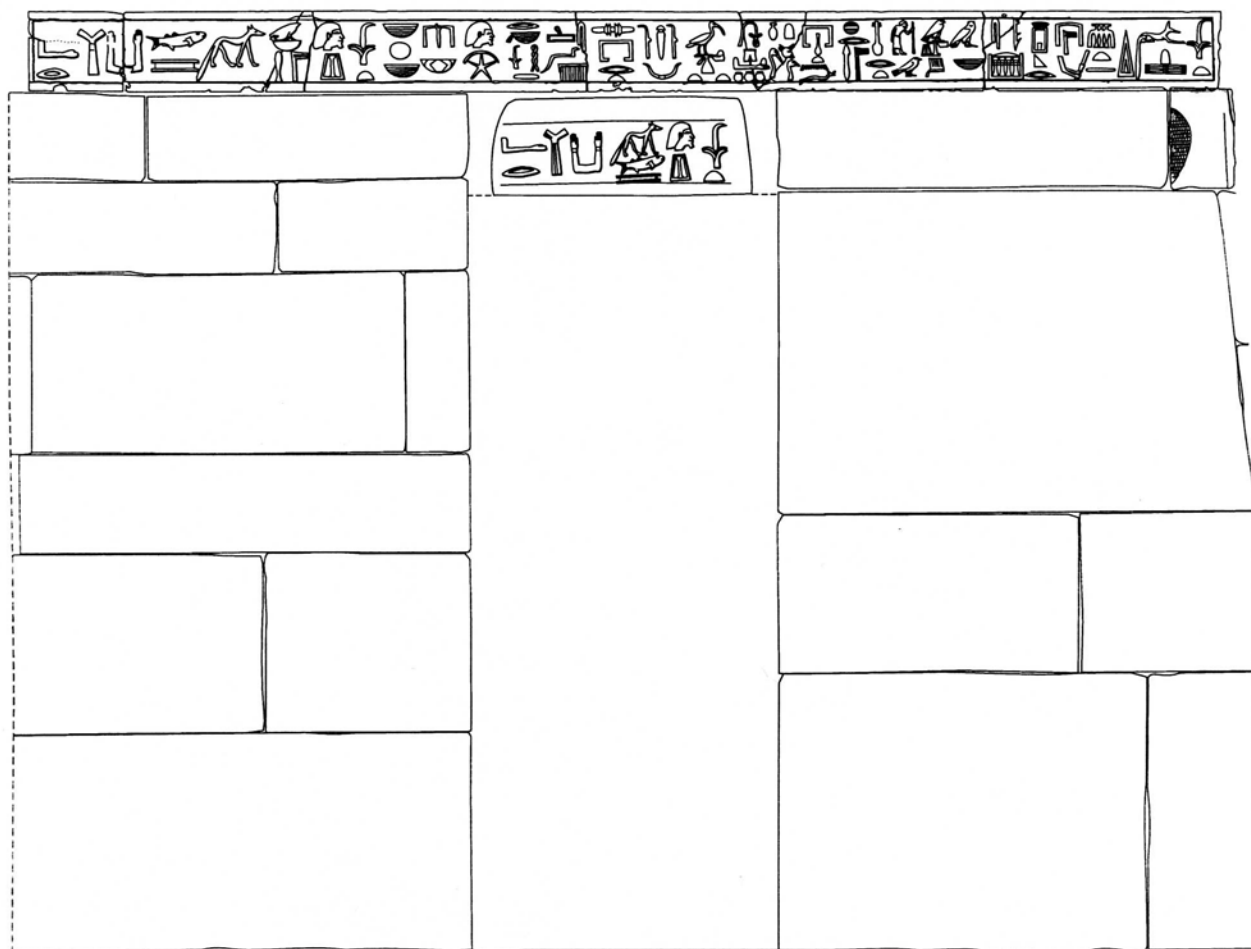


Fig. 4.7 – Reconstruction of the eastern front of the entrance into the chapel (1 : 20)

albifrons) and greylag goose *sr* (*Anser anser*)⁴⁵ should be placed in the reversed order, i.e. *sr*, *trp* (and further *zt*, *h3* and *mnwt*).⁴⁶ The arrangement here may be due to orthographic reasons where there was not enough space to start with the long-necked fowl. A similar example may be found on the early Fifth Dynasty monument of Setju in Boston.⁴⁷ According to Lapp, however, in the case of Setju and the monument of Kaaper perhaps too, the two bird heads should be read as *d3wt* – Common crane (*Grus grus*)⁴⁸ and *sr*.⁴⁹

6) This part of the text contains the enumeration of some of the most important feasts of the Old Kingdom. The feasts referred to in the inscription may be divided into two groups, feasts of the sky and feasts of the year.⁵⁰ Their arrangement and classification has been summarized by Parker.⁵¹ The inscription, starting with two lunar and therefore movable feasts of *wagy* and Thot (celebrated in the civil calendar on the 18th and 19th day of the first month of the year⁵²), is rather exceptional and, according to Spalinger, there are only about

⁴⁵ Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 54–59, Mahmoud, *Vögel*, pp. 47–56.

⁴⁶ See Edel, *Inschriften*, pp. 70 and 71, fig. 25, and Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 120–124, §213–216, Mahmoud, *Vögel*, pp. 48–49.

⁴⁷ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 74b.

⁴⁸ Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 83–86.

⁴⁹ Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 123, §214. In the tomb of Hemiunu, however, one can see the following arrangement: *d3wt*, *trp*, *sr* – Junker, *Giza II*, p. 146, fig. 23c. The tomb of Seshathotep shows again a slightly different arrangement, starting with *d3wt*, *sr* and *trp* see *ibid.*, p. 187, fig. 33.

⁵⁰ Altenmüller, *LÄ II* (1977), col. 171ff. (Feste des Himmels and Feste der Zeitläufe).

⁵¹ Parker, *Calendars*, p. 35, §176; Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists*, p. 110ff. For these two feasts see also Altenmüller, *LÄ II* (1977), col. 174; Luft, in Spalinger, ed., *Revolutions in Time*, pp. 39–42; Spalinger, in *ibid.*, pp. 50–52 and *idem*, *Three Studies on Egyptian Feasts*, p. 5 and footnote 18.

⁵² Parker, *Calendars*, 36; Schott, *Festdaten*, 81, Nos. 21–22; Altenmüller, *LÄ II* (1977), col. 174. On the double nature of the feast of *wagy*, however, see Posener-Krieger, in *Dauer und Wandel*, pp. 35–43 and Luft, in Németh, ed., *Gedenkschrift Hahn*, 19–23.

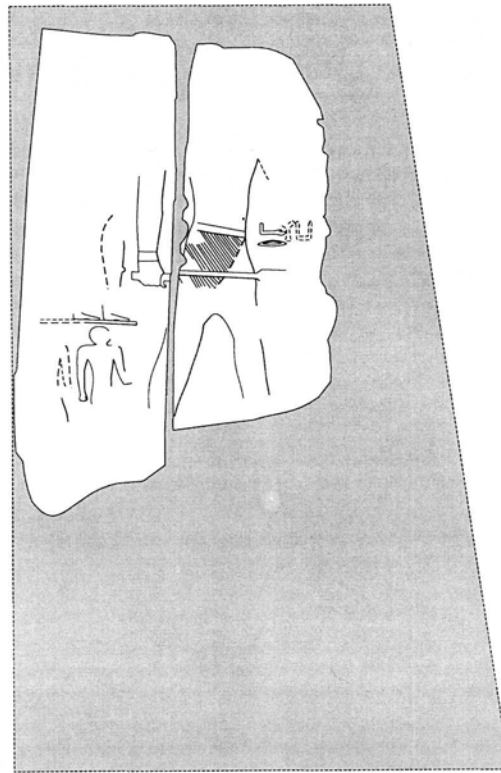


Fig. 4.8 – Entrance thickness, north wall (1 : 20)

five Old Kingdom tombs where the same order of the first four feasts of the canonical feast list could be identified.⁵³ The hieroglyph G26 for the writing of the name of Thot shows an ibis on a standard on a mound.⁵⁴ Then follow the feasts *tp(j) rnpt* “First day of the Year and *wp(t) rnpt* “New Year’s festival.”⁵⁵ In the fifth, sixth and the seventh position are the feasts *pri Mnw* “Coming forth by Min” (celebrated on the I *šmw* 11),⁵⁶ *s3d* (celebrated on the II *šmw* 20–21)⁵⁷ and *rkh (wr)* (celebrated probably on the III *pri* 1 and which should under normal circumstances precede the previous two feasts).⁵⁸ The form of the writing of *s3d* with the *s3* sign Aa17 and with a determinative

of an offering altar is not attested prior to the Fifth Dynasty.⁵⁹

The entrance into the chapel was 1.20 m long, 0.75 m wide and 1.85 m high. The ceiling of the entrance was sprinkled with red to imitate red granite. The north wall decoration only survived, though it is much weathered (fig. 4.8, pl. LIIC). It shows the lower part of the body and the legs of a striding figure of Kaaper, in one arm holding a *hrp* sceptre and in the other hand probably a staff. At waist height, there are the remains of his name [*K3(j)*]-*pr(w)*, reading from the right to the left. Behind him there are remains of two smaller registers containing traces of three male standing figures facing east.⁶⁰

4.2.1.2 Chapel⁶¹

The chapel had a rectangular plan measuring 3.40 × 1.55/1.35 m (north/south wall), with its long

⁵³ Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists*, p. 152 – Group X, order: 4–2–3–1.

⁵⁴ An almost identical form of the sign occurs on a block from the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Mery (Chicago) – see Smith, *AJA* 46 (1942): 512, fig. 3 – stone D. For a discussion on the iconography of this sign see now Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 201–205.

⁵⁵ Parker, *Calendars*, p. 30, §142ff. and pp. 61–62, §306–315.

⁵⁶ Altenmüller, *LÄ II* (1977), col. 178; McFarlane, *God Min*, pp. 197–198.

⁵⁷ Altenmüller, *LÄ II* (1977), col. 179. On the feast see Luft, in Mendel, Claudi, eds., *Gedenkschrift Behrens*, pp. 237–244.

⁵⁸ Parker, *Calendars*, p. 36, §178; Altenmüller, *LÄ II* (1977), col. 178.

⁵⁹ Luft, in Mendel, Claudi, eds., *Gedenkschrift Behrens*, pp. 238–239 and 239, footnote 19.

⁶⁰ A similar decoration occurs for instance in a late Fourth Dynasty relief of Akhi, see Junker, *Giza I*, pp. 236–238 and 237, fig. 56, 1–2.

⁶¹ For the summary of the chapel decoration prior to its excavation see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 390–391, plan 30.

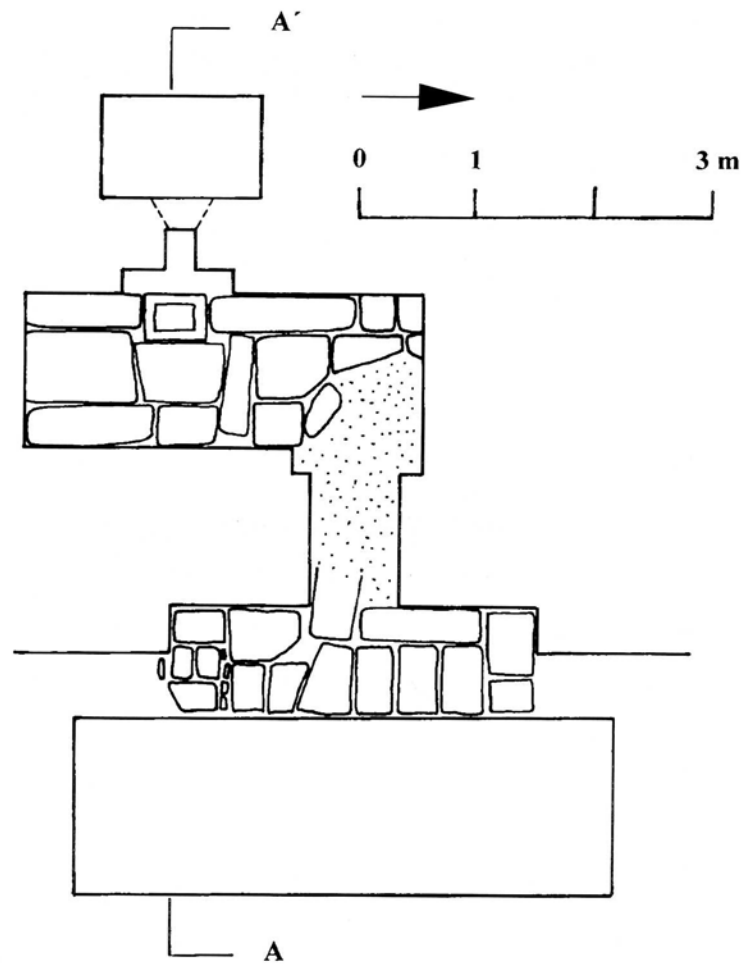


Fig. 4.9a – Ground plan of the chapel

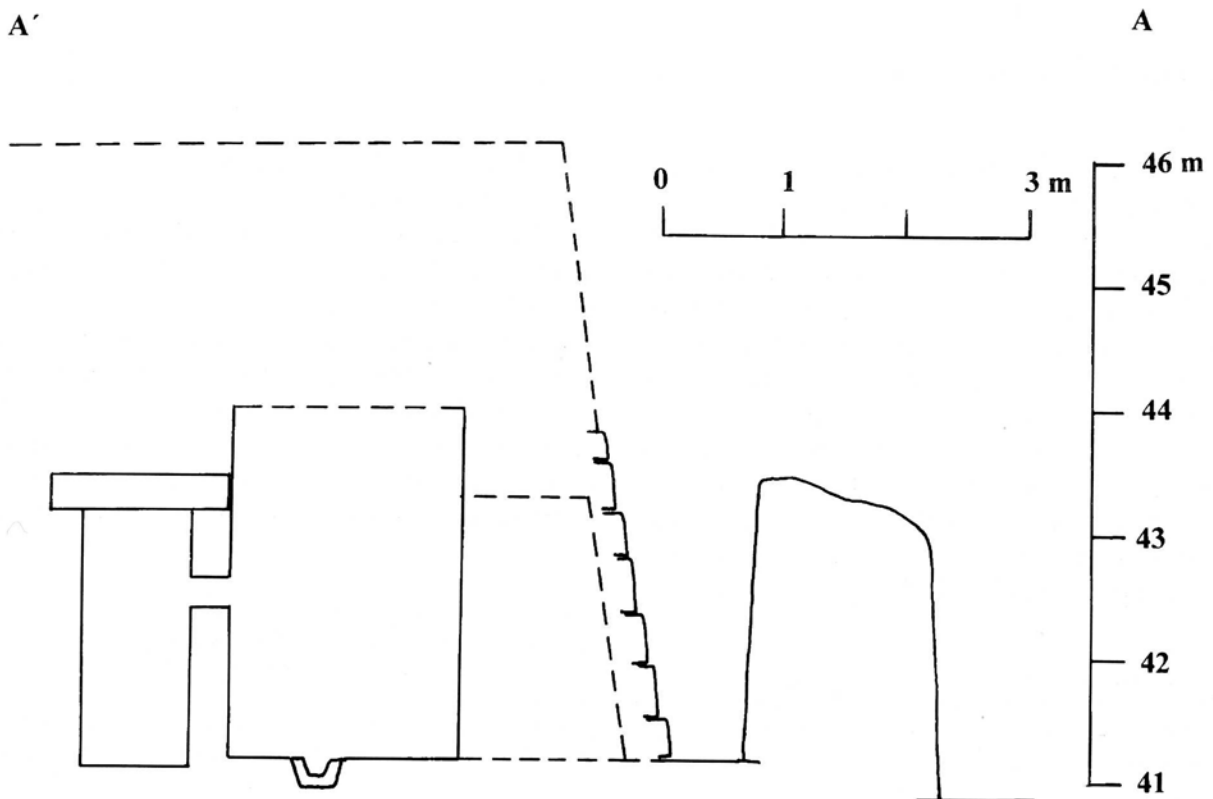


Fig. 4.9b – E-W section of the chapel

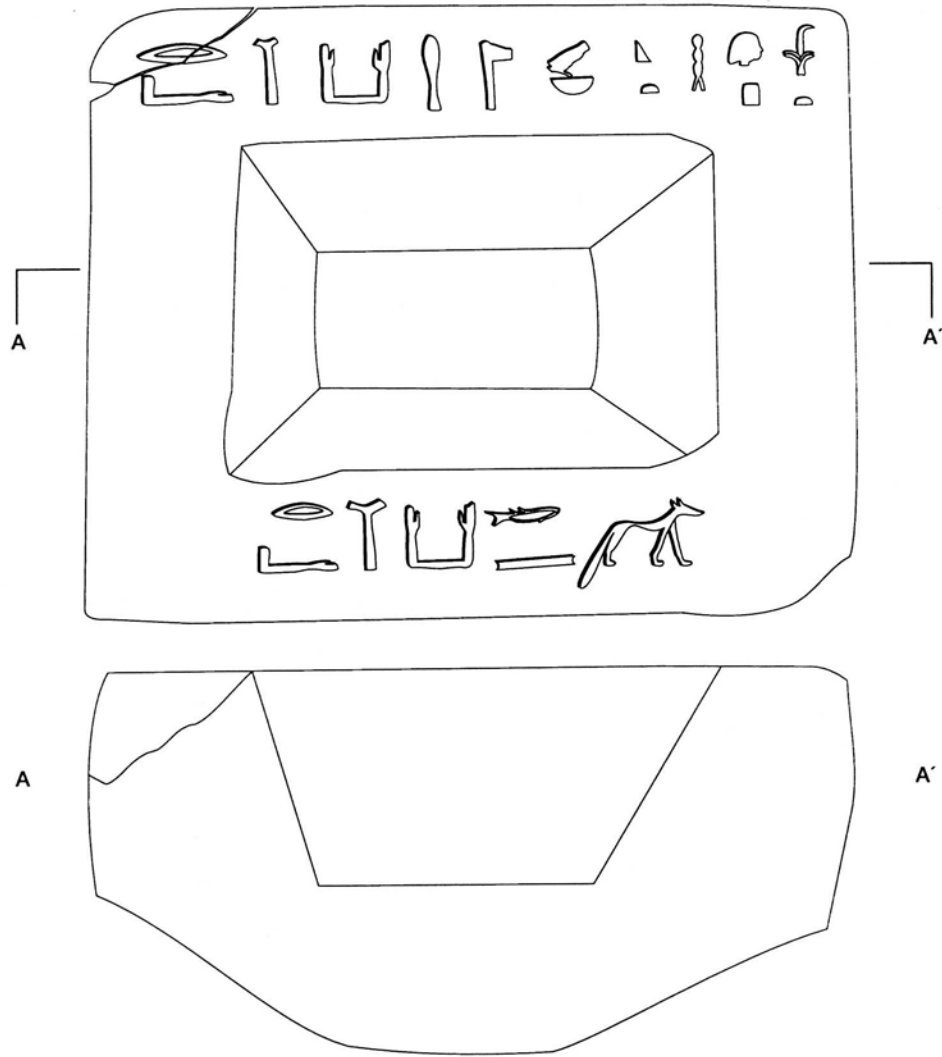


Fig. 4.10 – Libation basin, Excav. No. 23/AA/91 (1 : 5)

axis aligned north – south and covering an area of about 5 sq. m (fig. 4.9). The floor of the chapel was paved with flat limestone blocks, part of which behind the entrance was missing. This interior chapel represents an L-shaped type with a single false door embedded in the southern section of the west wall (Reisner's type 3a).⁶² Its original height was nowhere completely preserved. The reconstruction of its northern and western wall produced a height not less than 2.80 m (see below).⁶³ It is well possible that the chapel may have been even higher, since some contemporary chapels reach the heights of 2.90 m

(Nisedjerka),⁶⁴ 3.20 m (Kanenest [I])⁶⁵ or 3.10 m (Seshathotep Heti).⁶⁶

The first examples of L-shaped chapels appear at the end of the reign of Khufu.⁶⁷ The earliest examples of such chapels are built, however, as exterior chapels, chapels in additional core-work or in the secondary broken space within the masonry of the original mastaba.⁶⁸ It is generally accepted that mastabas with interior L-shaped chapels built *ab origine* appear only slightly later – approximately during the second half of the

⁶² Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 185.

⁶³ There are also smaller chapels, that of Kanefer measuring only 2.60 m see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 437.

⁶⁴ Junker, *Giza II*, p. 98.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 13.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 23.

⁶⁷ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 183. Reisner claimed (p. 203) that the L-shaped chapels had their earliest precursors in the exterior chapels built on the eastern front of the early-dynastic tombs at Tarkhan (see, for instance, Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, pls. 12–14). There seems to be, however, quite a reasonable time-gap between these chapels and the chapels built in Giza during the Fourth Dynasty.

⁶⁸ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pp. 203–206.

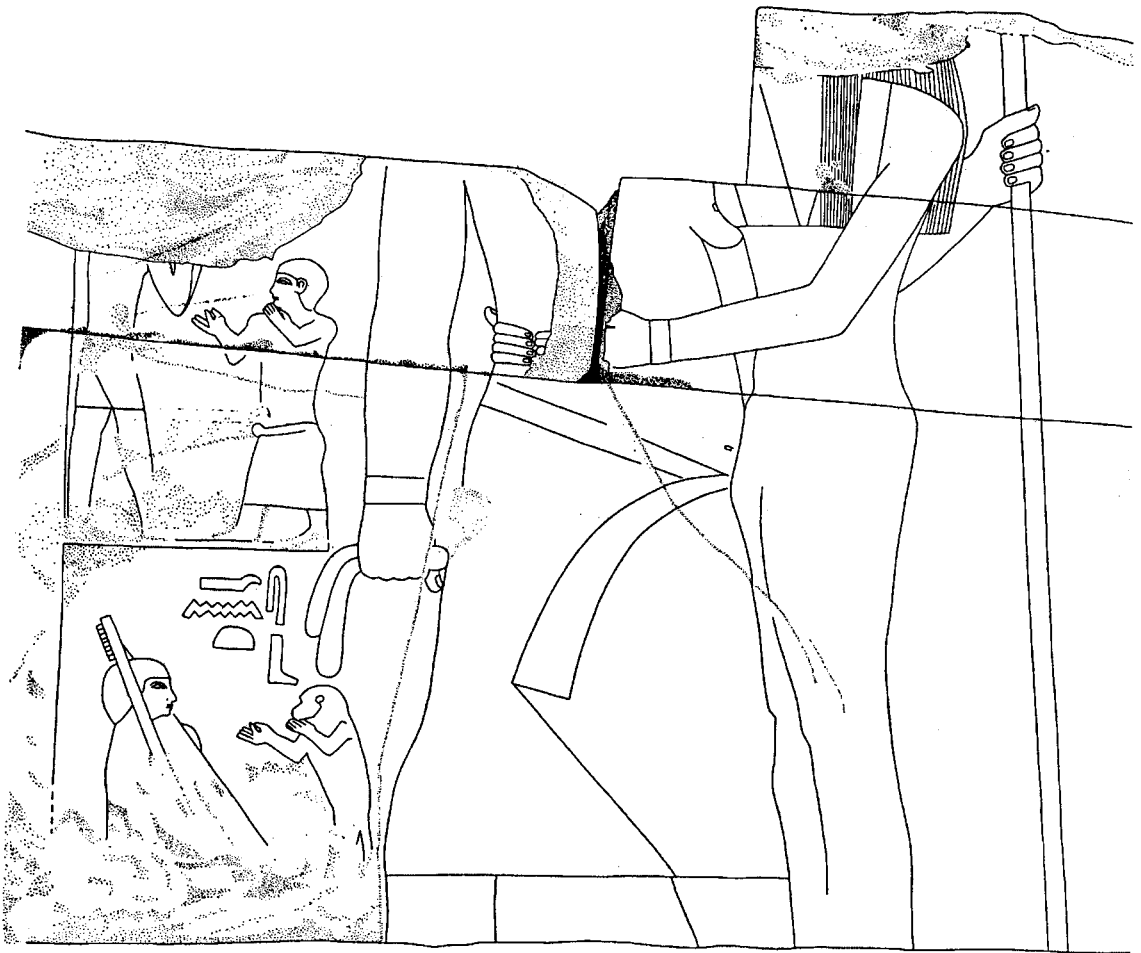


Fig. 4.11 – Chapel, north wall. Drawing of the original decoration (with kind permission of H. G. Fischer – as published in *JNES* 18/4, (1959), p. 243, fig. 8, drawing now in a private collection, Prague)

The photograph published by Fischer shows that to the left of Kaaper there originally were at least two more registers, each one being about 0.40 m high and 0.35 m wide. The upper one shows a dwarf standing before a clarinet player.⁸¹ The clarinet player with a short kilt is partly damaged so that only the body from the shoulders down is preserved. The dwarf is dressed in a long kilt reaching below the knees. The musical instrument is missing but the depiction and the attitude of the musician shows that it was held horizontally and that it was shorter than a flute.⁸² It is likely that the man was therefore playing a clarinet.⁸³

⁸¹ For dwarfs as entertainers in the Old Kingdom see Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pp. 122–126, see also her Catalogue E: Egypt, pp. 251–266. For the end-blown flute see Hickman, *LÄ II* (1977), cols. 265–267; *idem*, *Musikgeschichte*, pp. 26–27, fig. 5 and Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, pp. 25–26.

⁸² Compare, for instance, a clarinetist and a flautist in the tomb of Mehu – Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 158 and pl. 51 and in the tomb of Iymery – Weeks, *Giza Mastabas* 5, fig. 37.

⁸³ Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, pp. 28–29 and CG 1533 (shown on p. 29 as fig. 14). Most depictions of the flutes in the

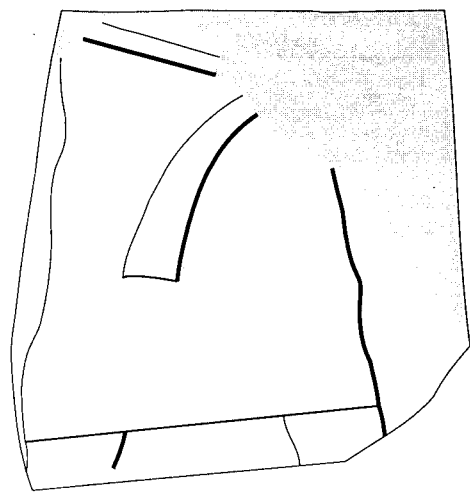
The lower register depicts a monkey standing before a harpist. The harpist is shown seated and lower part of his body is obliterated. Above them is a caption *skr bnt*, “striking the harp”.⁸⁴

Scenes with musicians playing an arched harp, a flute and/or a clarinet appear during the Old Kingdom quite frequently together.⁸⁵ The attitudes of the dwarf and the monkey are identical. Both of

Old Kingdom show relatively long instruments in most cases held by the musicians in an oblique direction with the bottom end resting on the ground.

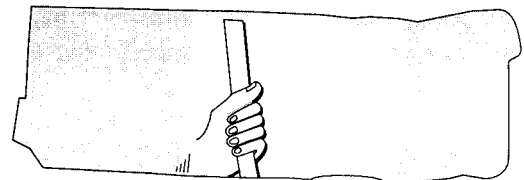
⁸⁴ Hickman, *LÄ II* (1977), cols. 966–972; *idem*, *Musikgeschichte*, pp. 20–21, fig. 2; 22–23, fig. 3. Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, pp. 25–27. For the Old Kingdom attestations see Krah, *Harfe*, pp. 59–88.

⁸⁵ For music and musicians in general see Vandier, *Manuel IV*, pp. 364–390. See for instance Kaemrehu – Mogensen, *Mastaba égyptien*, p. 14, fig. 7; pl. V (for a coloured photograph see now in Jørgensen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I*, p. 71); Debeheni – Hassan, *Giza IV*, p. 170, fig. 119; pl. 49; Nenkhfetka – Hickman, *Musikgeschichte*, pp. 24–27, figs. 4–6; Mehu – Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 51; Iymery – Weeks, *Giza Mastabas* 5, pl. 19 a; fig. 37; Idu – Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 2, pl. 24b; fig. 38 and many more.

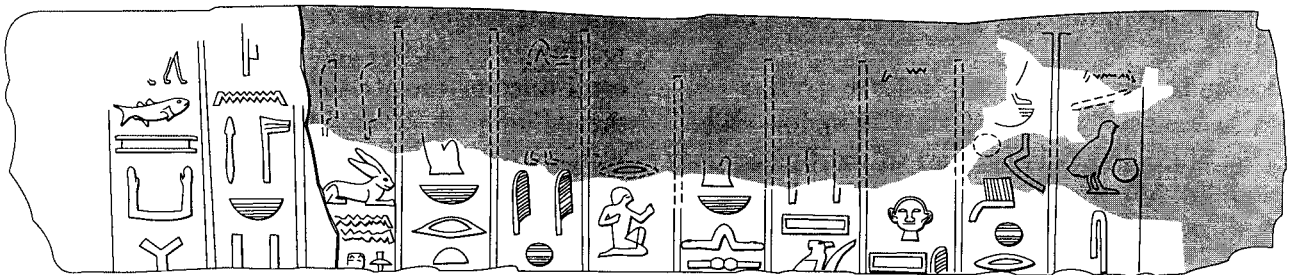


AA 89 – Loose block No. 3
1:10

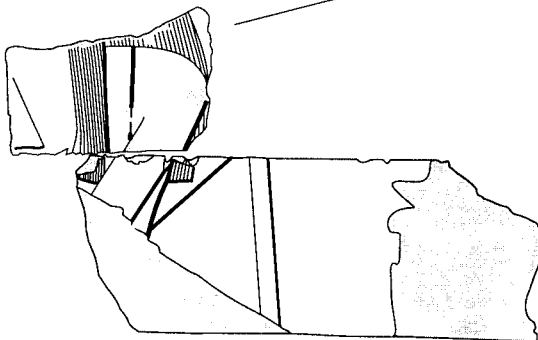
AA – LB No. 12
1:10



Kaaper – Loose block No. 4
1:10



AA – LB No. 10
1:10



AA – LB No. 8
1:10

AA – LB No. 8
1:10

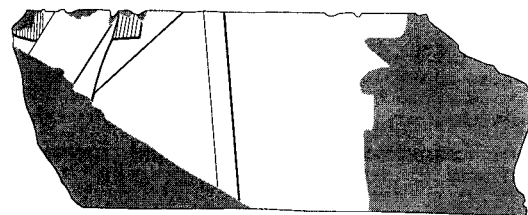


Fig. 4.12 – Loose blocks 3, 4, 10 and 12 from the north wall of the chapel

them have one hand half out-stretched with one thumb touching the index finger, the other one beside the mouth. This gesture, according to Hickman, is to be classified as chironomic either to give a rhythmical sign to the performer or to indicate the tone.⁸⁶ The hand placed beside the mouth is unusual in this context, since in most cases these musicians keep one hand close to the ear, thus concentrating on the pitch.⁸⁷

At the moment of the discovery of the tomb in 1989, only several blocks that originally composed the scene could be rescued from the fill in the chapel:

Loose block 3 (fig. 4.12, pl. LVIA)

Measurements: 0.61 (length) × 0.65 (height) × 0.25 (depth) m, low relief.

The fragment shows nearly the whole kilt of Kaaper with a strap and partly preserved legs; a large part of the top right corner broken off.

Loose block 8 (fig. 4.12, pls. LVIb, LVIIa)

Measurements: 0.63 × 0.24 × 0.38 m, low relief.

This piece shows upper part of the female body with her left arm, the bottom end of her wig and the forearm of Kaaper holding his staff. It joins Loose block 12.⁸⁸

Loose block 12 (fig. 4.12, pls. LVIIa, LVIIb)

Measurements: 0.58 × 0.22 × 1.10 m, low relief.

Fragment with the left shoulder and remains of the tripartite wig of Kaaper's wife. Behind her, Kaaper's hand holding the staff; one may note a very delicate execution of the fingernails. This block joins Loose block 8.

Above this intimate scene there was originally an inscribed block occupying the whole length of the wall (Loose block 4):

Loose block 4 (fig. 4.12, pls LVIIIa–b)

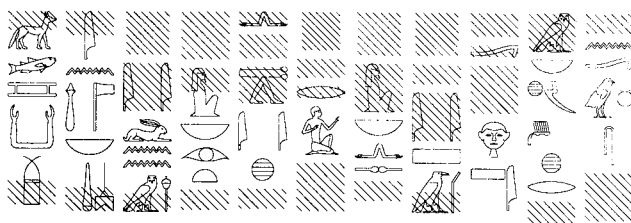
Measurements: 1.22 × 0.33 × 0.40 m (these measurements were taken in 1991, when the leftmost part of the block with the last two columns of inscription was already missing). Originally, the block was 1.53 m long (compare pl. LVIIIa). It was divided by vertical registers into eleven columns comprising a biographical inscription

executed in a low relief. On the extreme left and right it was framed by a 0.19 m wide border of blank space. The width of the individual columns was 9.8 cm with the division lines being about 1 cm in thickness. According to the decoration and inscriptions on the remaining walls of the chapel and the distribution of inscriptions (mainly from the western wall, see below), one may suppose that the inscription started about 2.30 m above the floor level of the chapel and that the original height of the columns was thus 0.45 m (it is very unlikely that the inscription would start and terminate at different heights when compared with the inscription on the west wall). Thus the complete height of the wall would be close to 2.80 m.

The approximate length of the columns may be furthermore established from the block itself. In columns 1, 2 and 10 one can observe faint contours of their upper ends indicated by a horizontal line. The length of the columns also seems to be reaffirmed by the last column with one of the principal titles of Kaaper and his name at the end of the column. It is unlikely that the inscription would continue any further after his name.


The inscription would thus continue for about 9–10 cm below the base line of the block. The confines of the space would provide just enough room for one group of signs (such as *wnn* or *ntr* '3). The inscription reads from right to left:

11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1.



Given the very fragmentary state of preservation of the inscription it is very hard to restore its original appearance.⁸⁹ Another circumstance that hinders its reconstruction is the fact that individual signs were scaled differently. In reality this means that even the signs that should occupy the whole-height of an ideal square were scaled differently;

e. g. the height of the  sign in the first column


was 9 cm whereas the partly destroyed sign  in the second column was 6.6 – 7.0 cms high at maxi-



⁸⁶ Hickman, ZÄS 83 (1958): 96–127.

⁸⁷ Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, pp. 167–173.

⁸⁸ Loose block 10 is a fragment of Loose block 12 showing the shoulder and the wig of Kaaper's consort.

⁸⁹ For this reason the preserved part of the block was checked and traced again in the Saqqara magazine during the winter 2000 by my colleague P. Vlčková and myself.

mum. The signs  in the seventh column were 8.3 cm high whereas in the ninth column probably

only about 7.0 cm (compare 7.6 cm for  in the first column). The signs of  varied between 2.3–3.0 cms and the signs for seated human figures (both males and females) ranged from 7.5–8.7 cm. The spacing between individual signs oscillates between 1 and 2 cms. All these variations were probably due to the limited amount of space at artist's disposal.

The following lines therefore represent only a hypothetical and incomplete reconstruction using parallels from other similar inscriptions. From the surviving portion of the text it seems to be certain that the composition shows some typical features of the Old Kingdom "autobiographies" with short phrases characteristic of the ideal biography, stressing that the primary concern of the tomb owner was with his tomb, the correct way in which to live life according to *maat* and the afterlife.⁹⁰ The text may be hypothetically reconstructed as follows:

1. [*jr*]*n*.(*j*) *nw*, *s*[*k* *w*(*j*)]
 2. [*m*] *nb* *jm3h*(*w*) *hr*[*nswt*.]
 3. [*jr*]*n*.(*j*) *nw* *hr* *js*[*t*.(*j*)]
 4. [*m3*^c*t*. *Jr* ?]*y* *š*...?
 5. [... *rm*_t?] *nb*. *N* *z*[*p* *dd*(*n*.*j*)]
 6. [*ht* (*nb*) *dw*_t] *r* *rm*_t (*nb*)
 7. [*N* *zp* *jt*]*y*.(*j*) *ht* (*nt*)
 8. [*rm*_t] *nb*. *Jrt*(*j*)... ?
 9. [... *nw*]*y*,⁹¹ *wnn* *hsf*(*f*) *m*... [?],
 10. *jn* *ntr* ³, *nb* [*w**d*^c-*mdw*]
 11. ^c*d*-*mr* (*n*) *z3b*, *K3*(*j*)-^c*pr*(*w*).
1. "[I have made] this (tomb), [I am]
 2. well-provided before [the king.
 3. I have made this tomb] from (my) [true] possessions
 4. [I have made...] ?
 5. ...of any man. I never [said]
 6. [anything wrong] against anybody.
 7. [Never did I steal] any[thing] from
 8. [any]body. ?
 9. [...this (tomb)?], he will be expelled from ...,⁹²
 10. by the Great God, lord of judge[ment],⁹³
 11. ^c*d*-*mr* official of *z3b*, Kaaper."

⁹⁰ Kloth, *SAK* 25 (1998): 196.


⁹¹ *Urk* I, 46.11.

⁹² For the sign *hsf* (U34) see Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, p. 47.

⁹³ For the writing of the determinative behind *nb wd^c-mdw* see, for instance, *Urk* I, 71.1.




Col. 1) The column probably started with the common phrase already attested in the earliest autobiographical texts of the Old Kingdom.⁹⁴ It

ends with the sign for  which makes it possible to reconstruct the word as a particle *sk* and possibly followed by the dependent pronoun *wj*.⁹⁵

Col. 2) Continuation of the previous column. The retracing of the inscription in one of the magazines in Saqqara during the winter 2000 validated the original suggestion by H. G. Fischer that the column starts with *m* preserved only partially. This sort of statement was quite frequent in Old Kingdom autobiographical inscriptions. The position of the asymmetrically placed sign for *m33* in the middle of the column may be probably explained by a following sign for *h* which is now almost missing. This graphical form of writing is attested for instance in the tomb of Mery.⁹⁶

Col. 3) The sentence which probably ensued from the preceding statement might be related to the "righteous" status of the tomb owner.⁹⁷ The use of the preposition *hr* instead of *m* is to my knowledge without contemporary parallels.⁹⁸

Col. 4) This column also cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The preserved ending – *y* may indicate a verb that originally occupied the upper part of the column. The lower part of the column is one of the least preserved sections and I am unable to find any satisfactorily emendation for it. It starts with the sign  probably referring to a lake (?), followed by a vertical sign bent forwards in its upper part and which hypothetically might be read in several ways (F18 – *hw*, U33 – *tj*, T14/15 –

⁹⁴ Kloth, *SAK* 25 (1998): 196; Tomb of Khufumery – Fakhry, *Sept Tombeaux*, p. 21, fig. 12; tomb of Hetepherakhti – *Urk* I, 50.13 (the verb followed by *js pw*); Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani*, pl. 28a. In general, see Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 50, §46.


⁹⁵ Edel, *Altäg. Grammatik* I, pp. 75–78, §166–170 (d).



⁹⁶ Smith, *AJA* 46 (1942): 512. For the expression "well-provided before the king" see, for instance, tomb of Pehenuika, *Urk* I, 49.7.


⁹⁷ For variants see Edel, *Phraseologie* 50, §46.

⁹⁸ For similar sentences (always with the preposition *m*) see *ibid.*, p. 50, §46.

thnw, *ʕm*, *kmʕ*). None of them, however, finds its parallel in the contemporary texts or seems to make sense here. Next to it goes the Egyptian vulture sign G1 (*Neophron percnopterus*). The identification is possible because of the occipital ruff G1.⁹⁹ The reading and translation of this part of the text as well as the initial section of the next column must be left open. It is just possible that this section of the inscription was in some way related to the title “priest of Heket” held by Kaaper (title No. 29) which was closely connected with the lake(s) at Abusir and Saqqara.¹⁰⁰


Cols. 5–6) The initial part of the column is destroyed. The first discernible sign is that of .

Above it was a sign, perhaps sign B1 , though placed slightly asymmetrically to the left. In the lower part of the column starts the short “negative confession”, concerning the deeds of the tomb owner, which is attested from the mid-Fourth Dynasty (tomb of Khamernernebtj) onwards.¹⁰¹ It extends over the three following columns as well (cols. 6–8). In the lower part of column 6 one can see the well-preserved sign A1, above which are faint contours of the sign .


Col. 7) Above the  there seems to be preserved the lower part of a sign V15.¹⁰² One can therefore at this place suppose a phrase such as “never did I rob/steal a thing from anybody,”¹⁰³ with the verb *jtj* used here with the meaning “to take, confiscate (illegally), to steal”.¹⁰⁴

Col. 8) Continuation of the previous column, meaning insecure.

Col. 9) Continuation of the previous column, meaning insecure. The word for “tomb” is written

here probably as .¹⁰⁵ After this goes the verb *wnn* followed by two damaged signs. The first one may possibly be an unusual form of the sign *hsf*

followed by the preposition *m*. The whole could be read as *wnn hsf m...* During the Old Kingdom, this frequently repeated consequence of tomb violation that was specified in the preceding section frequently followed.¹⁰⁶ According to the *Wörterbuch*,¹⁰⁷ the verb *hsf* may be used with the preposition *m* in the sense “to punish somebody with a sentence, to expel from (office).” Morschauser shows that the expression occurs frequently in the Hatnub texts with the same meaning and with the connotation of divine condemnation.¹⁰⁸ One would therefore expect to have here

the noun *ḥwt*  “office”.¹⁰⁹ Such an emendation seems to be disqualified, however, by the insufficient space left at the end of the reconstructed column.

Col. 10) The reconstruction of the epithet of the Great God at the end of the column is far from certain.¹¹⁰ The main obstacle in reconstructing this part of inscription as *wd^c-mdw* is the fact that both vertical signs have perpendicular sides whereas the sign for *mdw* (S43) requires that the stick widens downwards, towards the knobbed end.¹¹¹ The judgement by the Great God was the first and the last authority to which the owner of tomb referred when protection for his tomb was concerned.¹¹²

Col. 11) The final column was reserved only for the title and the name of Kaaper rendered identically as elsewhere in the tomb.

It is above all the representation of Kaaper with his wife which permits us to draw a close parallel between the mastaba of Kaaper and the older Fourth Dynasty tradition of depicting well-provided, corpulent officials.¹¹³ The thick-limbed officials seem to occur mainly during the Fourth Dynasty when a corpulence is a mark of distinction and elevated social status, even though this style of portraiture reappears again during the late Fifth Dynasty.¹¹⁴ At Giza, representations of cor-

⁹⁹ Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, p. 39. See, for instance, the tomb of Atet at Meidum, Petrie, *Medum*, frontispice, and the tomb of Hemiuu at Giza – Junker, *Giza II*, p. 147, fig. 23c.

¹⁰⁰ Bárta, *JNES* 58/2 (1999): 107–116.

¹⁰¹ For the parallels see Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 37, §28; *idem*, *MIO* 1 (1953): 334.

¹⁰² For the possible parallels see *idem*, *Phraseologie*, p. 31ff., §25ff.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 31, §25. For the subjunctive *sdm.f* following *nj zp* see Doret, *Verbal System*, p. 42 (examples 47–50).

¹⁰⁴ For the application of this verb in similar contexts see Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae*, pp. 47–48.

¹⁰⁵ See Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 50, §46 with attestations (such as *Urk.* I, 72.4 or 226, 5).

¹⁰⁶ Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae*, pp. 87–88. For the sign U34 see Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, p. 47. For the destruction of tomb reliefs during the Old Kingdom see now Uchida, *Orient* 29 (1993): 77–92.

¹⁰⁷ *Wb* III, 336.13–17.

¹⁰⁸ Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁹ *Wb* I, 29, 5–11.

¹¹⁰ For the summary of epithets of the Great God see Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 214, §367.

¹¹¹ Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II, pp. 129–133 (§45); *idem*, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, p. 41.

¹¹² Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae*, p. 136.

¹¹³ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 244–245.

¹¹⁴ H. Sourouzian, in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 149–167.

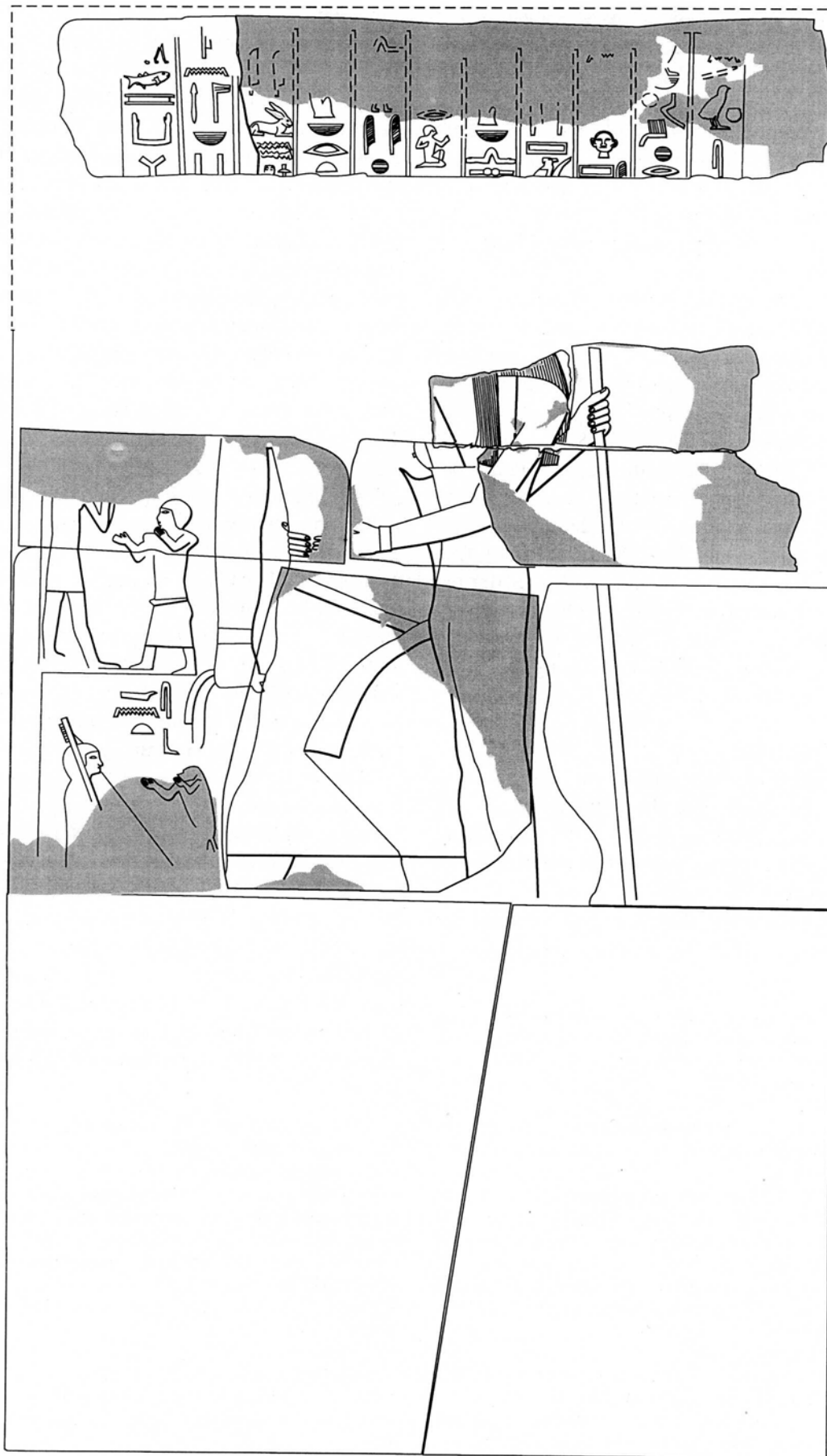


Fig. 4.13 – Reconstruction of the north wall from the documentation available (1 : 12)

pulent persons cease in the tomb of Kawab (reign of Khafra)¹¹⁵ and reappear again during the reign of Nyuserra in the Fifth Dynasty (tomb of Rakhefankh).¹¹⁶ At Saqqara, the latest Fourth Dynasty corpulent figures are attested in the tomb of Metjen¹¹⁷ and after him again only in the reign of Nyuserra in the tomb of Nefer and Kahay.¹¹⁸ The comparison of both sites shows that the depicting of corpulent persons persisted longer in Giza than in Saqqara.¹¹⁹

Harpur shows that in most cases the north walls in chapels of Kaaper's type are occupied by marsh, agricultural and pastoral scenes or by a figure of the deceased facing eastward.¹²⁰ The closest contemporary parallels with this wall are attested in the tomb of Kanefer (G 2150) and Seshemnefer (I) (G 4940).¹²¹ In both cases the tomb owners are depicted in the company of their consorts facing the entrance and with a list of titles above them arranged in columns and reading from the right to the left. One may also in this context consider the north wall decoration in the Fourth Dynasty chapel of Khufukhaf (I) at Giza. Khufukhaf is represented standing, leaning on a staff and facing his wife, who stands against him.¹²²

4.2.1.2.2 East wall

The decoration of the eastern wall consisted of two parts: the decoration above the entrance into the chapel with a fishing scene, and a banqueting scene occupying the greater part of the wall south of the entrance.¹²³

The complete scene above the entrance into the chapel was published by Fischer (pl. LIXa).¹²⁴

¹¹⁵ There are three known Fourth Dynasty attestations at Giza: the tomb of Hemiunu, Junker, *Giza I*, p. 146, fig. 23b; the tomb of Kawab, Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 3*, figs. 5, 10; and the tomb of Khufukhaf – *ibid.*, fig. 27.

¹¹⁶ LD II, pl. 8.

¹¹⁷ Two Fourth Dynasty attestations are known at Saqqara: the tombs of Khabausokar, Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 1 and Metjen, LD II, pl. 6.

¹¹⁸ Harpur has demonstrated (*Decoration*, Tab. 6.9, pp. 329–300) that this motif occurs both at Giza and Saqqara only during the Fourth Dynasty and reappears during the late Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty.

¹¹⁹ The Saqqara list of thick-limbed officials may be extended for one more example – the tomb of Mehu (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 4a, 5a, 18, 55).

¹²⁰ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 73.

¹²¹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 438, fig. 258; LD II, pl. 29a.

¹²² Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 3*, pl. 25 and fig. 34.

¹²³ Fischer shows clearly that the closest parallel to the east wall composition is to be found in the tomb of Persen – LD *Ergänz.*, pl. 8.

¹²⁴ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): pl. 7.

Nowadays, the surviving central part of the scene is kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 4.14, pl. LIXb).¹²⁵ The block's decoration is executed in low relief and the preserved fragment measures 0.345 x 0.780 cm. It shows a fishing scene with fishermen engaged in hauling in a seine full of fish. The block is partly damaged in the bottom right corner. The photograph of the block published by Fischer shows that this piece originally constituted the central part of a much larger composition and that both its left and right sides are nowadays missing. On the left, originally, there was Kaaper, seated and facing right, with one arm bent, resting on his leg. In the other hand, he held a stave. A large portion of his head was damaged, but one can still observe that he was wearing a short wig and a short kilt. The part below the knees is missing. Kaaper is represented seated on a chair which is at the rear terminated by a lotus flower,¹²⁶ with only part of the cushion visible behind his back.¹²⁷ Examples of similar cushions may be found already in several tombs of the Fourth – early Fifth Dynasty date, such as the tomb of Mery from Saqqara,¹²⁸ Kanenesut (I) ¹²⁹ or Rawer at Giza.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, the earliest examples of a similar kind one can already identify on the slab stelae from Helwan.¹³¹

Behind Kaaper is a band (the width of which may now be only estimated: about 12 cm). On the opposite, right-hand end of the block there originally was a triangular object and at the extreme right a seated balding man on a portable seat made of reed matting.¹³² The man has his right hand at his mouth, palm inwards, in a gesture of shouting, probably in connection with the supervising of some men at work.¹³³ The parallel from the tomb of Neferirtenefer shows that he was probably the overseer of a gang of fishermen.¹³⁴ Below him, in

¹²⁵ MMA 58.161 (Gift of Maguid Samed, 1958) – *ibid.*, pp. 241–244, pl. 7 and Elsbergen, *Fischerei*, pp. 135–136.

¹²⁶ Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, p. 32, Criterion 9.

¹²⁷ The chairs ornamented by lotus flowers appear as soon as the earliest offering scenes showing the deceased seated at the offering table (Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pls. 6, 7, 10, 12 – 15, 17, 18 – 27). These gain in popularity during the Fourth Dynasty (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pls. 17 – 20b).

¹²⁸ Ziegler, *Stèles de l' Ancien Empire*, No. 17, pp. 108–113.

¹²⁹ Junker, *Giza II*, pl. 5a.

¹³⁰ Hassan, *Giza I*, p. 9, fig. 5.

¹³¹ Saad, *Ceiling stelae*, pls. 12 – 15, 30.

¹³² Brewer, Friedman, *Fish and fishing*, p. 59.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 244; Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, p. 101, fig. 24.

¹³⁴ De Walle, *Neferirtenefer*, pl. 12, lowermost register. The person holds the title "overseer of the gang".

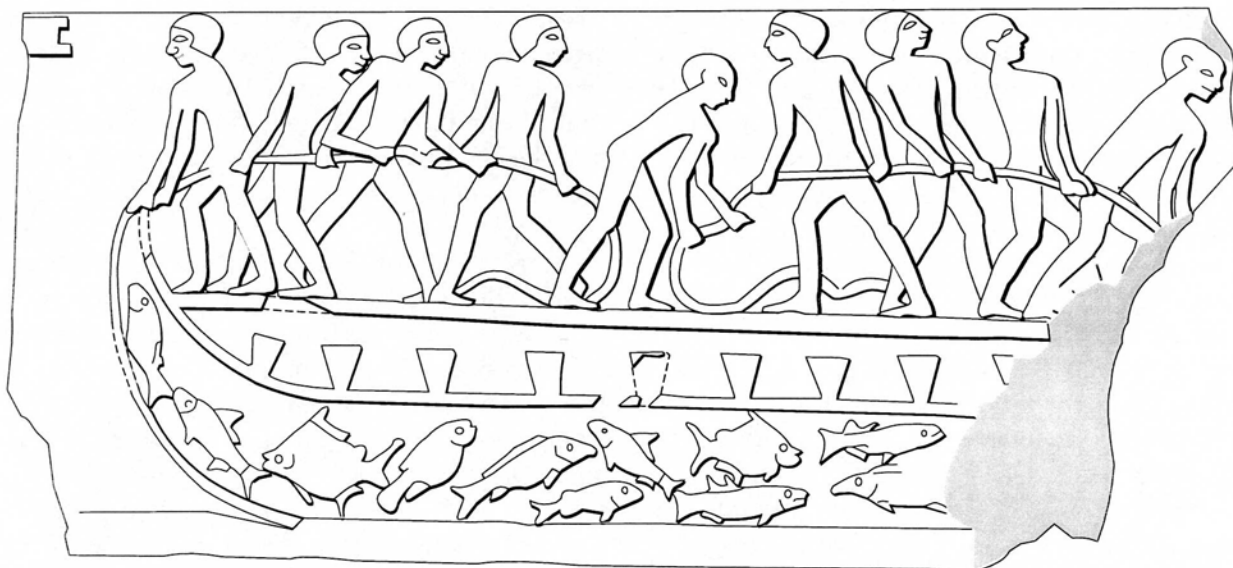


Fig. 4.14 – Block from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Acc. No. MMA 58.161, 1 : 5)

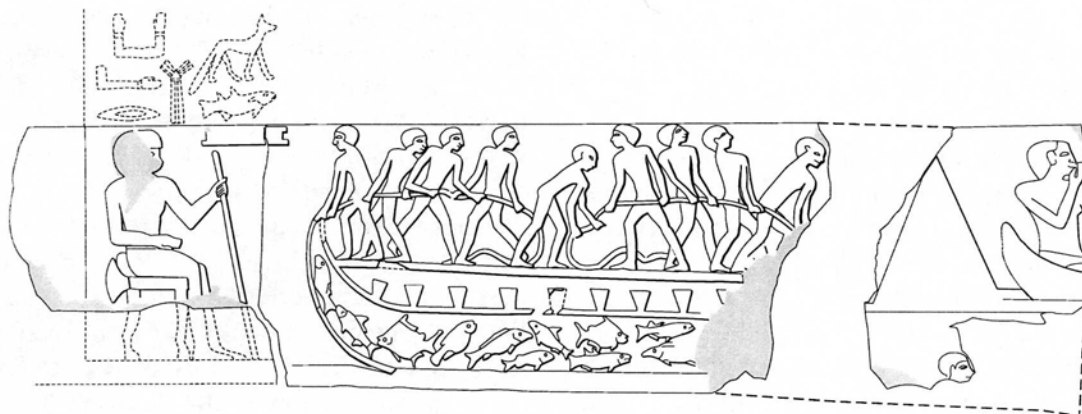


Fig. 4.15 – Chapel, eastern wall, reconstruction of the part above the entrance (based on H. G. Fischer, *JNES* 18/4, 1959, pl VII, 1 : 10)

another register, a male face is visible in the photograph. The original size of the whole composition may be estimated at 0.345 x 1.45 m (fig. 4.15).¹³⁵

The motif featured on the central block with nine fishermen pulling a seine with floats occurs in non-royal tombs from the early Fourth Dynasty onwards and belongs to the most widespread art of fishing themes represented on the walls of Old Kingdom tombs.¹³⁶ The scene on the block occupies the space of two registers (which also applies for the seated figure of Kaaper on the far left). The

fishermen wear short wigs and there are no indications of their dress.¹³⁷ The men are shown in full movement pulling the rope ends of the seine in opposite directions. They are divided into two gangs of four men on the left, and five on the right. The fish in the seine were identified by Fischer in his study (proceeding from the left to the right) and later revised by Elsbergen as follows:¹³⁸ *Gnathonemus cyprinoids* (?),¹³⁹ *Labeo niloticus* (following Elsbergen),¹⁴⁰ *Citharinus latus*,¹⁴¹ *Tetraodon fahaka*,¹⁴² *Mormyrus kanume* (more

¹³⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 235.

¹³⁶ Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 11, 18; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 145–148 (chapter 6.3.1.3); Elsbergen, *Fischerei*, pp. 9–23 and 58–60.

¹³⁷ Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 84–85.

¹³⁸ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 242; Elsbergen, *Fischerei*, p. 136.

¹³⁹ Brewer, Friedman, *Fish and fishing*, p. 50.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

probable than Fischer's *Mormyrus caschive*),¹⁴³ *Gnathonemus cyprinoides*, above it *Barbus bynni* (according to Elsbergen),¹⁴⁴ followed by a mullet *Mugil cephalus* or *Mugil capito*,¹⁴⁵ *Citharinus latus*, once again a mullet and *Mormyrus caschive*. In the top left corner there is the partly preserved sign N 36 which probably belongs to the title *ḥd mr (n) z3b* and the name of Kaaper.¹⁴⁶ The base of the register was again delineated by a band about 2.5 cm wide.

The section south of the entrance (2.33 m long and preserved to a max. height of 2.28 m) was reserved for a large table-offering scene of Kaaper with his wife (fig. 4.16, pls. LX – LXI).¹⁴⁷ This wall, though much of it was found *in situ*, was heavily eroded. The decoration starts at a height of 0.80 m above the chapel's floor. On the left, the tomb owner and his wife are represented sitting next to the other at the offering table with bread loaves.¹⁴⁸ They are sitting on an elongated chair terminated with a lotus flower and with an unidentifiable type of leg.¹⁴⁹ Kaaper (second from the left) has his right hand slightly raised, the other hand being bent and holding a sceptre placed on his breast. His wife is portrayed behind him,¹⁵⁰ with her left arm around his shoulders, her right arm bent and placed on his waist. The heads of both persons are missing.

There are only several vertical lines on the extreme left preserved – all that remained of the female wig which was identical with that on the north wall. For this rather uncommon composition¹⁵¹ of the tomb owner and his wife seated together at an offering table, Harpur gives only a few examples, one of the earliest examples being the early Fifth Dynasty tomb of Uhemka.¹⁵²

The offering table is of a type that occurs during the Fourth and first half of the Fifth Dynasty (offering table with a short foot placed on a biconical stand).¹⁵³ The height of the loaves reaches only the height of the elbows of the seated persons and is indicative of the Fourth – early Fifth Dynasty.¹⁵⁴

Above the scene is an inscription of three lines. The top line with the titles of Kaaper reads from right to left, the remaining two lines with the offerings from left to right (pls. XLIIa–b):

1. (j)m(j)-r mš^c, wr mḏ šm^cw, ḥrp jzwj ḏf3,
2. snṯr, w3ḏ, msdmt, ḥ3tt, jšd, [d3b][(w)], nb[s], [tnbs?],
3. šhp(j)t, prw, ḏ[s]rt, j3tt š^c(w)t, dp[t], [p]s[n]?, s...

1. "Overseer of the expedition, great one of the ten(s?) of Upper Egypt, Inspector of both places of provisioning,...

2. incense – one dish (a), w3ḏ – one dish (b), msdmt (c), ḥ3tt – two dishes (d), išd – two dishes (e), d3bw – one dish (f), nb – one dish (g), t-nb,

3. šhp(j)t drink – one bowl (a), prw drink – one bowl (b), ḏsrt drink – one bowl (c), milk one cup, š^c(w)t bread – two cones (d), dp(t) bread – one cone (e), psn bread?,¹⁵⁵ s..."

2a) Incense formed an integral part of the offering lists from the First Dynasty.¹⁵⁶ It occurs in the earliest bread-loaves offering scenes, such as that of Wepy (Helwan tomb 247 H.6) and Nefersetesh (Helwan tomb 277 H.6).¹⁵⁷ According to Kaplony, the regular inclusion of this item in the offering lists can be discerned from the Third Dynasty onwards.¹⁵⁸ For its production, the tree *Boswellia papyrifera* which during Old Kingdom grew wild in south Egypt was probably used. Nowadays, it can only be encountered in the Sudan.¹⁵⁹

2b) Green-eye paint¹⁶⁰ does not occur earlier than during the Third Dynasty on the slab-stela of Djefanesut¹⁶¹ and in the tomb of Hesyra from the reign of Djoser, where it figures together with

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–52.

¹⁴⁴ Elsbergen, *Fischerei*, p. 136.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁴⁶ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 241.

¹⁴⁷ Verner, *ZÄS* 120 (1993): 97–99 and 98–99, figs. 12–13.

¹⁴⁸ For the most recent discussion of the scene with pertinent literature see Der Manuelian, in Guksch, Polz, eds., *Stationen*, p. 116ff. and footnote 7; add also a tentative scheme of the scene development throughout the Old Kingdom as proposed by Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, p. 42ff.

¹⁴⁹ For the possible variants consult *ibid.*, p. 33ff.

¹⁵⁰ Fischer, in *LÄ* V (1984), col. 190 and fig. 3; *idem*, *Egyptian Women*, p. 3 and fig. 1; *idem*, in Lesko, ed., *Women's Earliest Records*, p. 8.

¹⁵¹ It is very infrequent down to the late Fourth Dynasty.

¹⁵² Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 79 – Nefer, Seshemnefer (II) and (III). For Uhemka see Kayser, *Uhemka*, p. 32. One may also add tomb G 2086 (Redi) – Roth, *Giza Mastabas* 6, pl. 16 and fig. 140.

¹⁵³ Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, p. 51 and fig. 36 (a–c) – Criterion 24.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47, Criterion 16 and Bárta, *SAK* 22 (1995): 25, Stage II.

¹⁵⁵ For this item see Hassan, *Giza* VI.2, pp. 323–324.

¹⁵⁶ Kaplony, *Inschriften* I, p. 340.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 354. See for instance the tomb of Hesyra, Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, pls. 29, 31–32 or Khabausokar, Muray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 1, at Saqqara.

¹⁵⁹ It was also collected from small trees in Somalia, as well as in southern Arabia – Manniche, *Sacred luxuries*, pp. 25–28 and Germer, *Pflanzen*, p. 110.

¹⁶⁰ *Wb* I, 267.3–15.

¹⁶¹ Bárta, *Opferformel*, p. 30; Drenkhahn, *Hannover*, p. 22.

msdmt as a label on the wooden box pictured on the wall of the corridor chapel¹⁶². According to Harris,¹⁶³ the main natural constituent of it was malachite. The three pellets serving as determinative of the word are painted green.¹⁶⁴

2c) The black-eye paint¹⁶⁵ (based on galena¹⁶⁶) does not appear in the offering lists at the same time as the green-eye paint as one would expect, but only slightly later during the reign of Khufu (stela of Nefertibet).¹⁶⁷ The line below the sign for the eye is accordingly painted black.¹⁶⁸ Usually, below the word for green-eye paint there is the figure of a shallow bowl, but in this instance there is no vessel. This fact may have been due to the lack of space within the columns resulting from the slightly longer chain of signs in the latter one.

The use of green and black paint for cosmetic purposes (as eye-paint) is, however, of a much earlier date than their occurrence in the offering lists. The earliest occurrence of black and green paint is attested from the tombs excavated by Petrie in Naqada.¹⁶⁹ Green, in combination with the red colour, in fact made its appearance even earlier, for it was found on a palette in tomb 2840 at Mostagedda.¹⁷⁰

2d) The term *h3tt* is already attested from the reign of Den¹⁷¹ and in the offering lists occurs from the Third Dynasty onwards.¹⁷² According to Fischer, the two jars represent *h3tt nt* 'š or "best cedar oil" and *h3tt nt Thnw* "best Libyan oil".¹⁷³

2e) This fruit was probably harvested from the tree *Balanites aegyptiaca* (L.) Del. which has survived sporadically in the Nile valley and in the oases up until today.¹⁷⁴ Its earliest occurrence can be probably traced down to the Early Dynastic Period. Written as *sd* it occurs in Abydos¹⁷⁵ and as *ds* in the tomb of Hemaka.¹⁷⁶ The full writing is

found in the tomb of Khabausokar (one dish).¹⁷⁷ 2f) The figs were harvested either from the tree *Ficus sycomorus* L. or *Ficus carica* L.¹⁷⁸ The harvest of these figs is depicted for instance in the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara.¹⁷⁹ Figs occur as early as during the Second Dynasty on the slab stela of Imty from Saqqara (written as *db*).¹⁸⁰ In full form they appear on the false door of Khabausokar where the signs for *b* and *3* are transposed and next to the determinative of three figs there is at the end a sign for a silo.

2g) *N3bk*-fruit was harvested from the earliest times of the Dynastic period¹⁸¹ as a fruit of *Zizyphus spina Christi* (L.) Wild.¹⁸² Its earliest writing variant is attested from the tomb of Hemaka where it is written as *bs* on some pottery vessels in which it was probably kept.¹⁸³ Its full-form writing comes again from the tomb of Khabausokar where the determinative with three pellets is followed by (as was the case with figs) a sign for the granary.

2h) Dried *n3bk*-fruit is determined here with a triangular sign. Such a sign occurs further – for instance in the tomb of Kanenesut (I) at Giza from the early Fifth Dynasty.¹⁸⁴ According to Barta,¹⁸⁵ it was a kind of bread. Against that is clearly its placement within the great lists of the latter half of the Old Kingdom where it figures among various kinds of fruits.¹⁸⁶ More probably, it was a dried fruit pressed into a mass of a conical shape.¹⁸⁷ Also in the tomb of Kaaper, the word is determined with two such cones.

3a) This sort of drink seems to develop from the original drink called *hp* and *sph*.¹⁸⁸ The earliest attestation of this drink is on the archaic stelae of Gemensesh (hp) and Sekhefen (sph).¹⁸⁹ In the

¹⁶² Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 21 (59).

¹⁶³ Harris, *Ancient Egyptians Minerals*, p. 143.

¹⁶⁴ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 240.

¹⁶⁵ *Wb* II, 153.8–15.

¹⁶⁶ Harris, *Ancient Egyptians Minerals*, p. 175.

¹⁶⁷ G 1225 – PM III, p. 59 (dating the tomb to the middle of the Fourth Dynasty); Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 19b; Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 42.

¹⁶⁸ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 240.

¹⁶⁹ Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 45.

¹⁷⁰ Brunton, *Mostagedda*, p. 30. See also Baumgartel, *Prehistoric Egypt II*, p. 82.

¹⁷¹ Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, p. 303.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 352–353.

¹⁷³ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 256.

¹⁷⁴ Germer, *Pflanzen*, p. 99.

¹⁷⁵ Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. 25.16.

¹⁷⁶ Emery, *Tomb of Hemaka*, pp. 51–52.

¹⁷⁷ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Germer, *Flora*, pp. 25–27; Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, *The Gift of Osiris*, pp. 708–711.

¹⁷⁹ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Niankhnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 15.

¹⁸⁰ Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 13.

¹⁸¹ It is attested from the tomb 213 from Kom el-Ahmar, Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, p. 65.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 65; Germer, *Flora*, pp. 114–116; Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, *The Gift of Osiris*, pp. 702–703.

¹⁸³ Emery, *Tomb of Hemaka*, pp. 51–52; pl. 24 above.

¹⁸⁴ G 2155 – PM III, p. 78; Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18.

¹⁸⁵ Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 42.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁸⁷ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 256.

¹⁸⁸ Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 15 and 17.

¹⁸⁹ Scharff in *Fs Griffith*, pl. 57 and Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pls. 26–27.

full form is this item for the first time attested on the stele of Nefersetesh from Helwan.¹⁹⁰

3b) The *pr(w)* beer (written probably as *hnkt pr* in earlier lists¹⁹¹) may be found in some other roughly contemporary lists of Seshathotep and Nesutnefer, always as *pr(w)* – two jars, and always following after *hnkt* beer.¹⁹² According to Hassan, this item is typical of the older lists (including the panel of Huti).¹⁹³

3c) The drink *dsr* seems to be for the first time attested on the stele of Wepemneferet of the first half of the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁹⁴ Later variants of writing of this drink include the writing *dsrt n st*.¹⁹⁵

3d) *š^c(w)t* bread occurs in the lists as early as during the Second Dynasty on the stele of Nefersetesh from Helwan.¹⁹⁶ Later on it occurs in offering lists together with some other bread sorts such as *ht*, *pz* or *t-rth*.¹⁹⁷

3e) *Depet* is another sort of bread which is attested on very early funeral monuments (such as offering stelae of Sekhefen from Saqqara or Sakhu from Helwan) and which later on became part of the standard offering lists.¹⁹⁸

Above the table, though hardly discernible, were traces of the original two joints of meat and a fowl on a footed plate. Below the table are still visible individual signs for *šs*, 1000, *mnht* 2000 – “one thousand of alabaster and two thousands of cloth”. In front of the table, arranged in short columns and reading from the left to the right, there are traces of an almost missing inscription (pl. LXIIa):

1. *jrt(j) n.f dbht-htpt*
2. ?
3. *m hb-nb r^c-nb....*

1. “Let him be given the complete requirement of offerings....”,¹⁹⁹

2. ?

3. on every feast, every day....”

¹⁹⁰ Saad, *Ceiling stelae*, pl. 30.

¹⁹¹ Hassan, *Giza VI.2*, p. 471, no. 200 and Jørgensen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I*, p. 51 – tomb of Isi.

¹⁹² Junker, *Giza II*, p. 88, no. 27. For beer in general see also Helck, *Bier* and Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, *The Gift of Osiris*, pp. 529–550.

¹⁹³ Hasan, *Giza II*, p. 64.

¹⁹⁴ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 17a.

¹⁹⁵ Hassan, *Giza VI.2*, pl. 2 (lists of Seshemnefer and Setju).

¹⁹⁶ Saad, *Ceiling stelae*, pl. 30.


¹⁹⁷ Hassan, *Giza VI.2*, pl. 2; Junker, *Giza II*, p. 86.

¹⁹⁸ Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pls. 26–27; Saad, *Ceiling stelae*, pl. 17 and Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 16, 21 and 48.

¹⁹⁹ Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 111ff.

Following after the three columns there are traces of a seated animal with a long, upright tail facing to the right, where originally a procession of offering bearers heading to the left was depicted. Only traces of the first two male figures are preserved, the first man in a short kilt slightly bending forward and the second one standing, dressed in a short kilt and holding a *hrp* sceptre in his left hand (pl. LXIIb). There is a vertical band running across his body, probably a mistake on the part of the artist (?).

It is possible that from the east wall originates also **Loose block 9** (fig. 4.17, pl. LXIIIa). The block is 0.79 m long, 0.40 m high and 0.20 m deep. Its decorated face is heavily eroded and the composition is only partly discernible. The scene was executed in a low relief. On the extreme left one can still see contours of the forelegs of a seated male person. He is approached from the right by another man. The man is striding to the left and is slightly bent forwards. The man holds a drinking vessel in his hands and is giving a drink to the seated man. It is well possible that the seated man was supervising the activities depicted on the block.²⁰⁰ Next to them is another seated man with his head turned backwards and with arms operating probably a fireplace with bread loaves. This interpretation is supported by the caption above

the fireplace:  *h3d(w)* “bread dough”.²⁰¹

The right part of the block is even more eroded and nearly completely gone. Nevertheless, it seems that on the right, opposite to the man at the fireplace on the left, there is another seated male person facing to the left. It seems that he is operating an object standing on the ground in front of him.²⁰² The impression is as if he were operating a low turntable or a low simple wheel. This would mean that what we have here is in fact a composition of two parts: the first part being a rarely attested pottery fabrication scene accompanied by a bread baking scene on the left.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Compare van der Walle, *Neferirtenefer*, pl. 12.

²⁰¹ Wb III, 237.1 and Verhoeven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen*, pp. 166–168. The noun is determined with the sign *t* which probably stands here for a more frequently used determinative of a bread loaf, see Altenmüller, Moussa, *Niachnum und Chnum-hotep*, pl. 76.

²⁰² For a similar attitude see Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites*, pp. 6–9, figs. 1, 4, 8.

²⁰³ For an overview of the comparative material from the Old Kingdom period see *ibid.*, pp. 6–40 and Arnold, Bourriau, *Egyptian Pottery*, pp. 39–54.

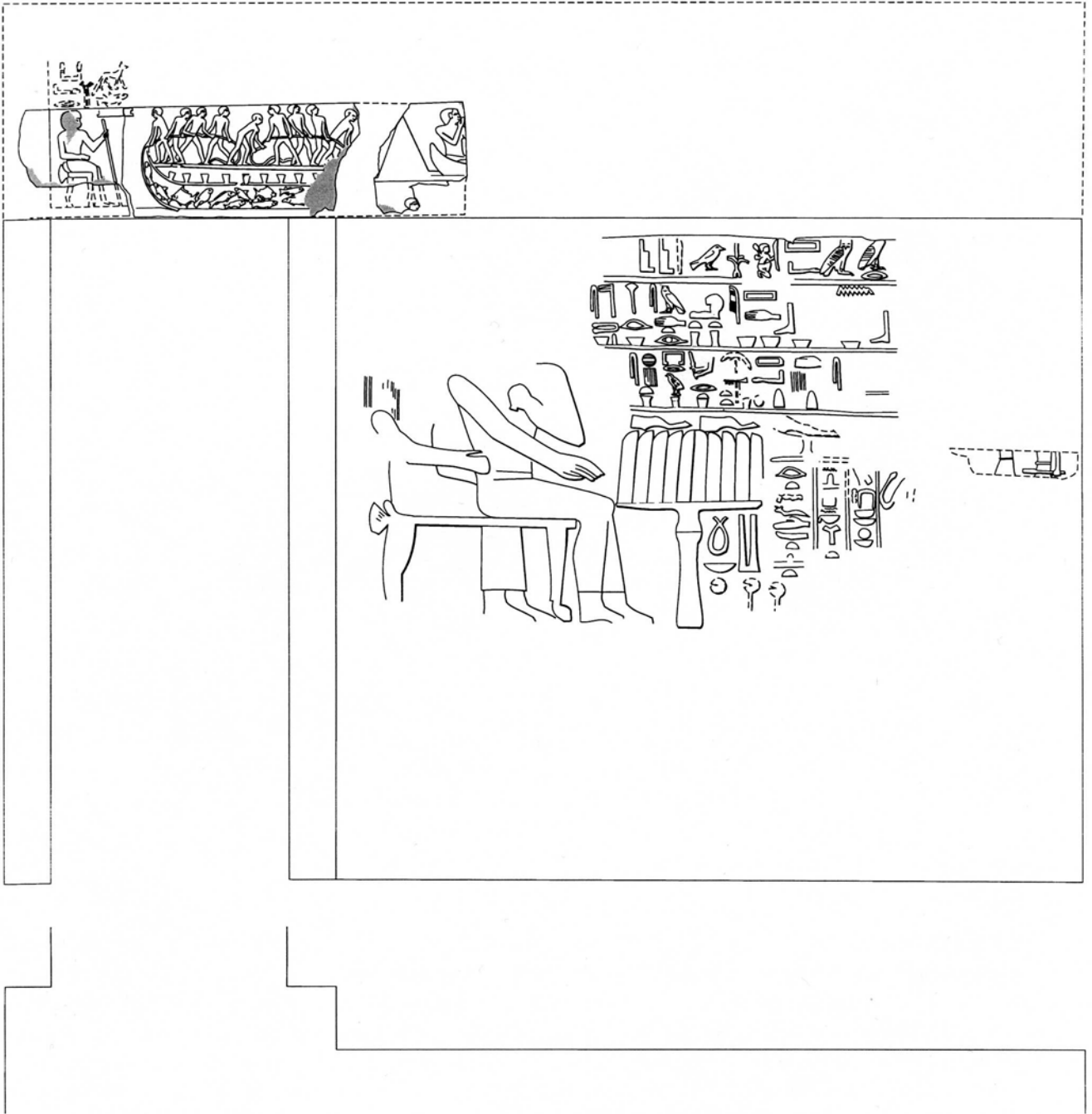


Fig. 4.16 – Reconstruction of the east wall (1 : 20)

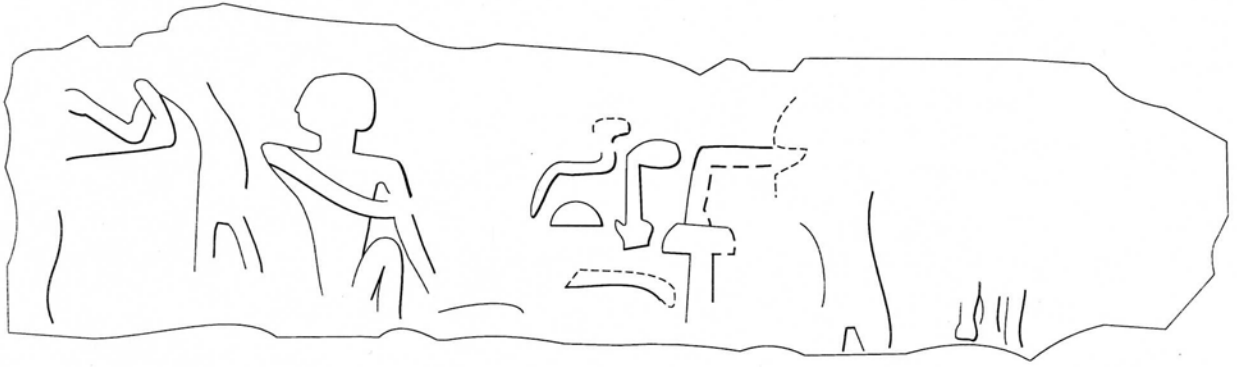


Fig. 4.17 – Loose block 9 (1 : 5)

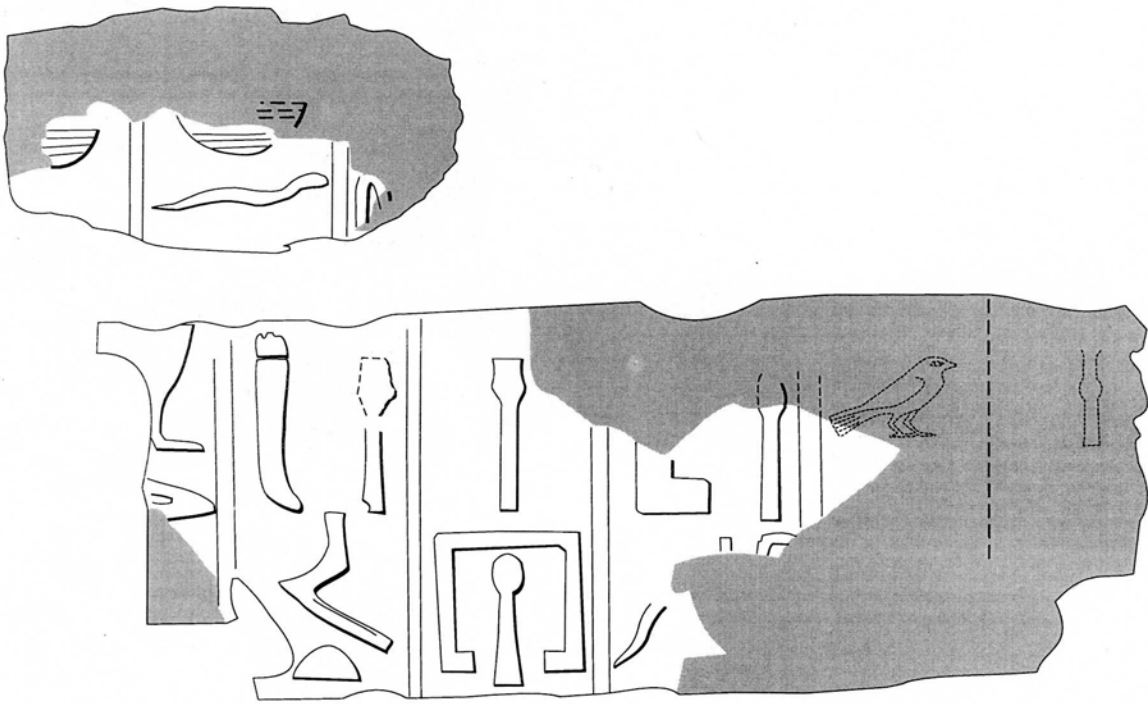


Fig. 4.18 – Loose block 2 and 6 (1 : 5)

4.2.1.2.3 South wall

This wall was preserved to a height of 2.25 m. Though almost completely *in situ*, its decoration has nearly completely faded away (fig. 4.19, pl. LXIIIb). The greater part of the wall was occupied by a striding figure of Kaaper facing west. Kaaper is shown wearing a short kilt, holding a staff in his left and a *shm* sceptre in his right. There are no details preserved. In front of him there is a horizontal line, an indication that there were smaller registers, perhaps with offering bearers.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 68–70.

It is well possible that from this wall may come **Loose block 6** (pl. LXIVa).²⁰⁵

This loose block is 0.68 m long, 0.25 m high and 0.49 m deep. Its right part is damaged. It originally comprised several columns of inscription reading from the right to the left, executed in a low relief and containing the titles of Kaaper. As Fischer has already noted, the width of the columns is bigger than those on the false door. The measurements have shown that the width of columns decreased from the right to the left (a fact

²⁰⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): pl. 9A and his remarks on p. 235.

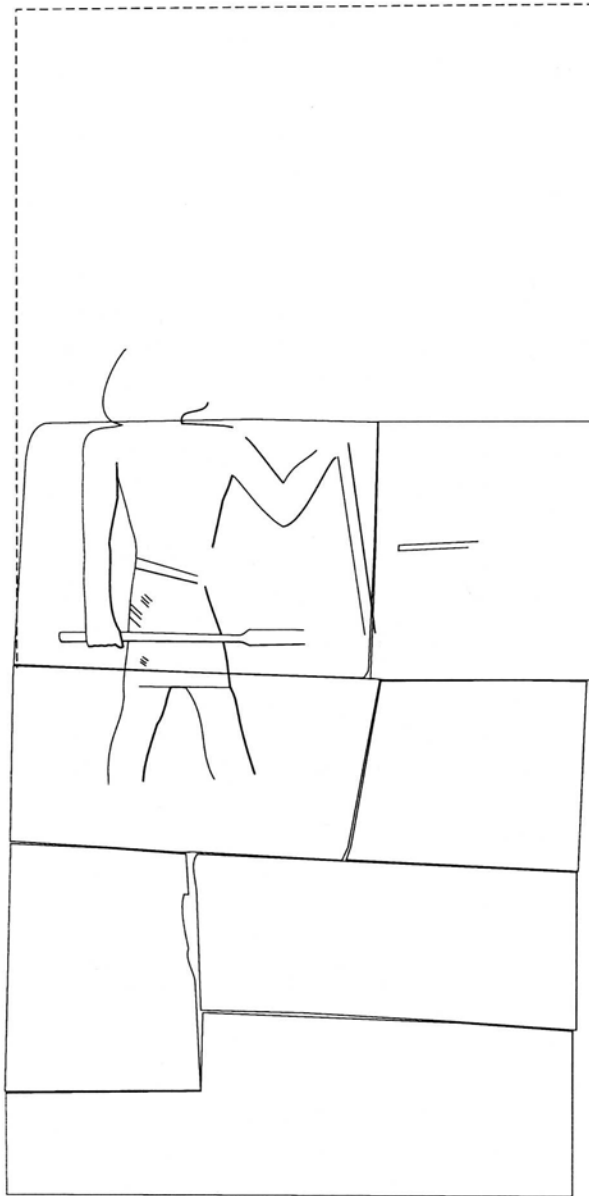


Fig. 4.19 – Reconstruction of the south wall (1 : 20)

which may result from the lack of space on the wall at the end of the inscription), thus the column x+2 is 12 cm wide, whereas the following columns x+3–5 are only 10 cm:

x+1: *wḏ-[mdw n hrjw-wḏbw]*,

x +2: *wr [mḏ šmꜥw]*

x+3: *hrp jz-[ḏḥ...]*,

x+4: *hrp pr-ḥḏ...*,

x+5: *hrp tm3t(jw)...*,

x+6: *(j)m(j)-r....*

x+1: “Giver of [orders to those in charge of reversion offerings],²⁰⁶...,”

x+2: Great one (of the tens of Upper Egypt)

x+3: inspector of the place of [food...],

x+4: inspector of the treasury,...,

x+5: inspector of (all) the bowcase bearers,...,

x+6: overseer of ...”

From the same wall may also come **Loose block 2** (pl. LXIVb):

²⁰⁶ This emendation was proposed by Fischer (*ibid.*, p. 267).

This block is 0.27 m long, 0.15 m high and 0.31 m deep. It shows the remains of three columns with an inscription in a low relief. The width of the x+2 columns may be estimated to be 12.5 cm (its width thus seems to correspond with the right part of Loose block 6 or it may precede it):

x+1: ...s (or *hnt?*);

x+2: ...nb.f...

x+3: ...nb....

4.2.1.2.4 West wall

The west wall may be divided into two parts. Its south section was taken up by a false door which was 1.02 m wide and was completely destroyed by the tomb robbers at the moment of its discovery. The section to the north of it was occupied by large figures of Kaaper and his wife with an elaborate list of the titles of Kaaper.

The southernmost part of the wall, 0.72 m in length, was discovered in 1991; it was without decoration. The comparative evidence indicates that it was probably reserved for minor figures of the offering bearers oriented towards the false door to the north of them.²⁰⁷ The false door was 1.02 m wide, its height may be only estimated as at least 2.80 m.²⁰⁸ It was a double-niched false door with a single jamb (0.35 m wide) on each side and with a central niche 0.32 m wide. The southern thickness of the outer niche bore some traces of the original decoration. There were very faint contours of a male offering bearer dressed in a short kilt. It is one of the very few attested examples of decoration at such a place (fig. 4.20, pl. LXVa). A similar example of decoration in such a location, this time only in the form of offering stands, may be found on the false door of Merib.²⁰⁹

At a height of 1.44 m there was a hole in the central niche that was connecting the chapel with a serdab to the west of it (the serdab measured 1.35 × 0.90 m and was 2.06 m high).²¹⁰ Only two

small fragments of the original jambs were found still *in situ* (fig. 4.20, pl. LXVb–LXVIa). On the right one, the lower part of a striding male figure in a short kilt with a tail and still discernible knot of the kilt was visible. The figure was facing south, holding a sceptre in his right. In front of him, only a single s, probably part of figure's name, survived. It is likely that the jambs were originally decorated with family members and the central niche, completely missing now, was designed to accommodate a striding figure of Kaaper.

The only decoration for which we have some evidence is therefore the upper part of the false door jambs with a drum in the middle on a photograph in Fischer's article,²¹¹ a lintel above it – again documented only by a photograph²¹² and a false door panel nowadays kept in the Detroit Institute of Arts.²¹³

The photograph showing the jambs with the drum attests to the fact that the top part of each jamb was reserved for three columns of inscriptions oriented towards the central niche and containing some principal titles and the name of Kaaper. Their height may be estimated being about 0.25 m (pl. LXVIb).

Left jamb:

1. *ḏ-mr (n) z3b, ḏ[^c(r) m3^ct n nb.f]*,
2. *hr(j)-sšt3, wr [mḏ (šm^cw)]*,
3. *(j)m(j)-r k3t (nbt) (nt) nswt.*

1. "Administrator of z3b, who seeks out what is right for his lord,
2. keeper of the secrets, great one of the ten(s) of Upper Egypt,
3. overseer of (all) royal works."

Right jamb:

1. *ḏ-mr (n) z3b,*
2. *hrp tm3t(jw) [nb(w)]*,
3. *[mr(y)] nb.f, K3(j)-ḥpr(w).*

1. "Administrator of z3b,
2. inspector of [all] the bowcase bearers,
3. beloved of his lord, Kaaper."

²⁰⁷ Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 69–71.

²⁰⁸ For instance, the false door of Kanenesut (I) was 2.75 m and that of Seshathotep was 2.92 m high, see Junker, *Giza II*, figs. 12 and 23.

²⁰⁹ LD II, pl. 20.

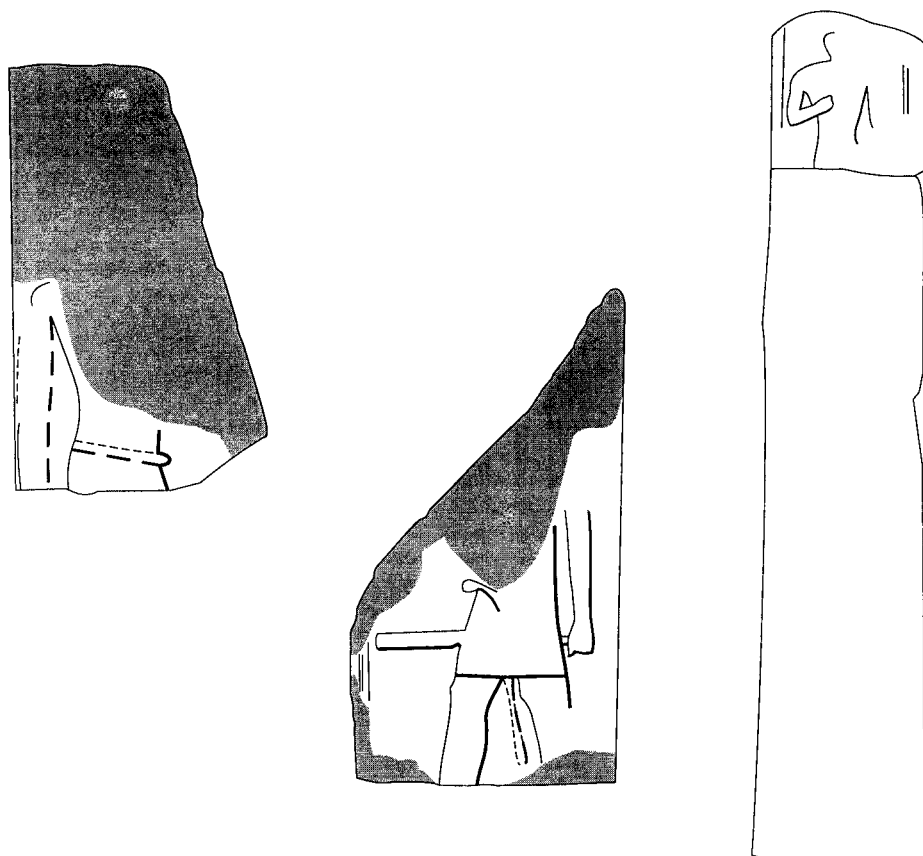
²¹⁰ The slot was 0.25 m long, 0.24 m high, widening to the west from the initial 0.32 m up to 0.49 m. Similar holes occur in tombs of the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty – Neferet – Petrie, Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 2; Seshemnefer (I) – Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 215, fig. 124; Akhi – Junker, *Giza I*, p. 235, fig. 55; Seshathotep – *idem*, *Giza II*, p. 182, fig. 28, pl. 25b; Kanenesut (I) – *ibid.*, fig. 13 between pp. 138 and 139, pl. 6 b; Iteti and Kai – Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani*, pls. 7 and 12; Kaemrehu – Mogensen, *Mastaba égyptien*, p. 6; pls. 3–4 – holes next to the false door; Imby – Hassan, *Giza I*, p. 91, fig.

154, the aperture in the west wall between the two false doors, tomb G 3011 – Fisher, *Minor Cemetery*, p. 89, false door of Seniwehem in Boston MFA 27.444 – Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 235, note 6 and *idem*, *Egyptian Studies I*, p. 47, fig. 14 and pl. 15, fig. 15; CG 1566 – offering stela of Kakhersetef, Borchardt, *Denkmäler des AR II*, p. 35 and pl. 66; G 2089 – tomb of Neferked – slot in the tablet of the northern false door, Roth, *Giza Mastabas* 6, p. 95, fig. 58 and pl. 36b. Perhaps also the reconstructed false door of Mery – see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I*, p. 28, fig. 1 and p. 29, note 5.

²¹¹ *Idem*, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): pl. 5.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

²¹³ Detroit Institute of Arts 57.58 (acquired in 1957 from Paul Mallon), see *idem*, pl. 4 and Peck, *KMT* 2/3 (1991): cover and p. 15.



The photograph of the lintel published by Fischer shows clearly that, whilst it was already *in situ* in the chapel, the lintel was broken into two parts. The left part of it has been recently 'rediscovered' in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem.²¹⁶ The block is 65 cm long, 13.5 cm high and 5.5 cm deep (pl. LXVIIb). It is well preserved and has two recently drilled holes in the base indicating that, originally, the block was displayed in an upright position standing on two tenons. The block is in exactly the same state of preservation as it was in the 1959 photograph and preserves some faint traces of the original polychromy. There are no details pertaining to this fragment, nor is there any information relating to the right part of the lintel officially available.

²¹⁶ Acc. No. 1357 (previous HE6.65), Borowski Collection. The block is on display in Niche B, but is not included in the exhibition catalogue of the museum.



Fig. 4.21 – Central panel from the false door (Detroit Institute of Arts 57.58, 1 : 5)

The central panel of the false door measures 0.505 × 0.620 m (fig. 4.21, pls. LXIX, LXXXVI). The decoration is executed in a low relief. Kaaper is shown seated at the table with bread loaves, extending his right arm forward, touching the slices of bread and facing right. His left arm is bent on his breast and he holds a fly-whisk. He is dressed in a long feline garment attached at the shoulder by a ribbon and sits on a chair with an elongated cushion²¹⁷ and bull legs.²¹⁸ On his neck he bears a beaded *wsh* collar.²¹⁹

At the top of the panel is a single line of inscription reading from the right to the left with the titles and the name of Kaaper:

ḥd-mr n z3b, n(j)-jb ntr.f, wr md-Šm(w), K3(.j)-ḥpr(w)
 “ḥd-mr official of the king, one who belongs to the

heart of his god, great of tens of Upper Egypt, Kaaper.”

An internal part of this scene contains an offering list consisting of the so-called “*Inventaropferliste*” and “*Ritualopferliste*”.²²⁰ The enumerated individual items are arranged in columns and read from left to right in the following order:

| | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|
| 1* | 3* | 4* | 5* | 6* | 7* |
| 2* | | | | | |
| | | | | 8* | 9* |
| | | | | 11* | 12* |
| | | | | 14* | 15* |
| | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 16* |

* = “*Ritualopferliste*”

The various items of the offering list are to be read as follows:

- 1) *šntr* – “incense, one dish,”
- 2) *ntr t3 6* – “natron, 6 pellets,”
- 3) *w3ḏw* – “green eye-paint, a dish,”
- 4) *msdmt* – “black eye-paint,”
- 5) *h3tt 2 (nt Thnw)* – “two vessels of the (Libyan) oil,”
- 6) *išd 2* – “two dishes of the ished-fruit,”
- 7) *d3bw* – “figs,”

²¹⁷ G 1235, the tomb of Iny – Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 20b, *PM III*, p. 61, the reign of Khufu; G 4240 – the tomb of Sneferuseneb, Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 57b, *PM III*, p. 125, the middle Fourth – early Fifth Dynasty.

²¹⁸ This shape of cushion is prevalent during the Fourth Dynasty where it occurs on several slab-stelae and panels: Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, p. 34, Criterion 10.

²¹⁹ This type of collar is attested for the first time on the statue of Neferet from Meidum – see Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, p. 17, no. 4 and 18, no. 4 (detail), Staehelin, *Tracht*, p. 113ff. On collars in the Old Kingdom see now Brovarski, in *Studies Bell*, pp. 137–162.

²²⁰ Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 7–10 and *passim*

- 8) *nbsw* 2 – “two dishes of the *nabq*-fruit,”
- 9) *t nbs* 2 – “two cakes of dried *nabq*-fruit,”
- 10) *sšht* – “grain,”
- 11) *t wr* 2 – “two dishes of great loaf(s),”
- 12) *t (j)m(j) t3* 2 – “two dishes of bread which is baked in the earth,”
- 13) *hbnn(wt)* 2 – “two dishes of the *hebenenut*-loaves,”
- 14) *shpt* 2 – “two jars of *sekhpit* drink,”
- 15) *prw* – “a jar and a cup of *peru* beer,”
- 16) *j3tt* – “milk,”
- 17) *t h3* – “a thousand of bread,”
- 18) *hnkt h3* – “a thousand of beer,”
- 19) *šs h3* – “a thousand of alabaster (vessels with oil),”
- 20) *mnht h3* – “a thousand of clothing.”

- 1) See East wall, 2a.
- 2) Natron occurs in the offering lists from the reign of Khafra onwards.²²¹ The earliest examples are the slab-stelae of Khufunekhet²²² and Neferet.²²³
- 3) See East wall, 2b.
- 4) See East wall, 2c.
- 5) The term *h3tt* is attested from the reign of Den²²⁴ and in the offering lists occurs from the Third Dynasty onwards.²²⁵ According to Fischer, the two jars represent *h3tt nt* as “best cedar oil” and *h3tt n.t Tḥnw* “best Libyan oil.”²²⁶
- 6) See East wall, 2e.
- 7) See East wall, 2f.
- 8) See East wall, 2g.
- 9) See East wall, 2h.
- 10) Grain *shṯ* occurs quite often as “green” or “white” grain and, according to Hassan, it appears as early as during the Third Dynasty.²²⁷ Following Fischer, it may be noted that the writing *shṯ* and *sšṯ* occur arbitrarily from the Fourth Dynasty onwards.²²⁸
- 11) “Great loaf” occurs already on the panel of Khabausokar and his wife from Saqqara.²²⁹
- 12) Fischer corrects Hassan’s translation “bread

of the land” and shows that it is probably a sort of bread that was baked in earth.²³⁰

13) The *hebenenut* bread occurs for the first time on the monument of Mesa (see above).²³¹

14) See east wall, 3a.

15) See east wall, 3b.

16) Milk was an infrequent item in the offering lists.²³² For the first time it is attested on the Fourth Dynasty monument of Mesa.²³³

17–20) These four items, always with a numeral of a thousand are placed below the table (= “Inventaropferliste”) and belong to the *pṛt-hrw* offerings.²³⁴ Another two offerings – a joint of beef and a goose/duck on platters – are visible above the table.

The northern portion of the west wall (1.69 m long) was almost completely destroyed – the maximum preserved height of the wall was 1.47 m at its north end. Some blocks from this wall, however, were identified by Fischer in Kansas.²³⁵ Also from this wall are three loose blocks which join the Kansas blocks:

Loose block 5 (fig. 4.22, pl. LXVIIIa)

The block is 0.55 m long, 0.325 m high and 0.46 m deep. It contains the first five columns of the inscription with the titles and the name of Kaaper executed in a low relief. It joins loose block 7.

Loose block 7 (fig. 4.22, pl. LXVIIIb)

The block is 0.72 m long, 0.30 m high and 0.41 m deep. It continues the inscription from Loose block 5. The block contains part of the fifth column from Loose block 5 and another five columns with the titles of Kaaper in low relief.

Loose block 11 (fig. 4.22, pl. LXXa)

The block is 0.91 long, 0.24 m high and 0.72 m deep. It shows part of the standing figure of Kaaper (part of his waist with a kilt and a navel) and a part of his staff.

The combination of these loose blocks and the blocks documented *in situ* enables a partial reconstruction of the original appearance of the west

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²²² G 1205 – PM III, p. 57; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, pl. 18a.

²²³ G 1207 – PM III, p. 58; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, pl. 18b; Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 43.

²²⁴ Kaplony, *Inscriften* I, p. 303.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 352–353.

²²⁶ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 258.

²²⁷ Hassan, *Giza* VI.2, pp. 412–415.

²²⁸ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 256.

²²⁹ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pls. 1–2 and Hassan, *Giza* VI.2, pp. 432–433.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 326 and Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 256. See also Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48.

²³¹ Hassan, *Giza* VI.2, pp. 331–333.

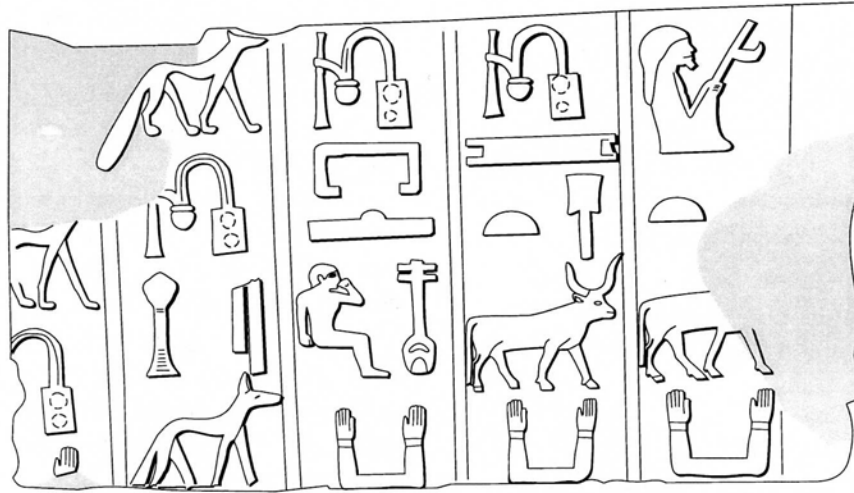
²³² *Ibid.*, pp. 385–386.

²³³ Borchardt, *Denkmäler des AR* I, p. 103.

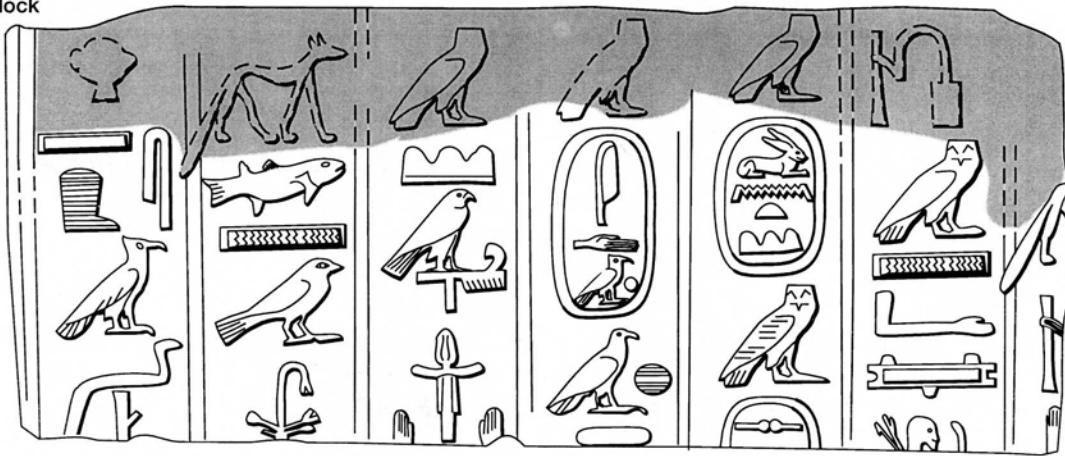
²³⁴ For the summary see Lapp, *Opferformel*, p. 91ff.

²³⁵ The Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas, Nelson Fund 46–33.

Loose block No. 5



Loose block No. 7



Loose block No. 11

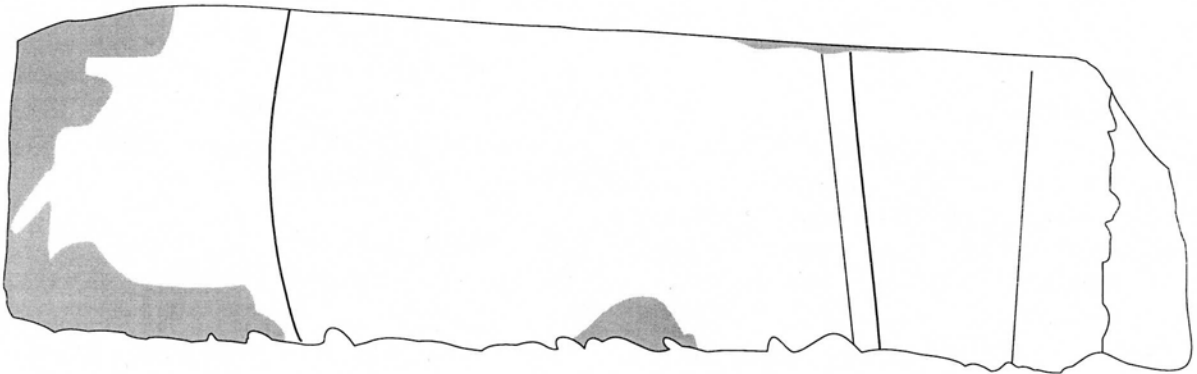


Fig. 4.22 – Loose blocks 5, 7 and 11 (1 : 5)

wall (fig. 4.24).²³⁶ The central position on the wall was occupied by the Kansas blocks (13 x 76 cm) showing the upper part of the striding figure of Kaaper, with his wife behind and being embraced by her (fig. 4.23, pl. LXXI). Only the upper parts of both persons and the legs of Kaaper survived. Kaaper is shown dressed in a panther skin (evi-

dence for this clothing may be found in a long dangling tail visible between his legs),²³⁷ leaning against a long staff held in his left hand and with a horizontally held *hrp* sceptre in his right hand. In front of him, at his front knee is a small male child grasping the lower end of his staff (pls. LXXII a–b). The boy, who is likely to be Kaaper's son, has a caption above his head: *(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt*,

²³⁶ The blocks were previously assembled together by Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): pl. 8.

²³⁷ Staehelin, *Tracht*, Typus 2 – p. 41 and footnote 4.



Fig. 4.23 – Block from the west wall (The Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas, Nelson Fund 46–33, 1 : 10)

K3(.j)-^cpr(w), *šr(j)* “property custodian of the king, Kaaper, the younger”. It is this part of the wall with the son of Kaaper that was discovered during the Czech excavation.²³⁸ Both Kaaper and his wife wear wigs (she also the dress) identical with those on the north wall. It may be estimated that both figures originally started about 0.80 m above the floor level. Above and behind them run inscriptions arranged in columns (each of them being about 0.10 m wide and 0.40 m long) and reading from the right to the left. The reconstruction of the wall shows that the inscription started at a height of 2.35 m above the floor of the chapel and continued for another 0.40 m, thus reaching a height of 2.75 m. The inscription comprises the titles and the names both of Kaaper and his wife:

1. *mnjw z^cb(wt)*, *K3(.j)-[^cpr(w)]*,
2. *zš mr(w) z3b(wt)*, *K3(.j)-^cpr(w)*,
3. *zš pr-mḏ3t, nfr*, *K3(.j)-^cpr(w)*,
4. *shḏ zš(w) (n) z3b*, [(*j*)*m(j)-r*] *zš(w) pr-mḏ3t (n) z3b*,
5. *zš (n) z3b*, *K3(.j)-^cpr(w)*,
6. *zš mš^c nswt*,
7. *m Wnt*, *m Srr*, (*m*) *TP3*,
8. *m Jd3*, (*m*) *Htjw fk3t*,
9. *m ḥ3s(w)t jmntt j3btt*, *K3(.j)-^cpr(w)*,
10. *ḏ-mr (n) z3b*, *wr mḏ-šm^cw*, *K3(.j)-^cpr(w)*,
11. *ḥr(j)-sšt3*, *ḏ^cr m3^ct n nb.f*,
12. ..., (*jwn*) *knmwt*,
13. *K3(.j)-^cpr(w)*, (*j*)*r(jt)-(j)ḥt nswt*, *mrt.f*, *nbt (j)m3ḥ(wt) ḥr h(3y).s*, *Tnttj*.



²³⁸ It was already visible on a photograph published by Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959) – see his pl. 6 – extreme left

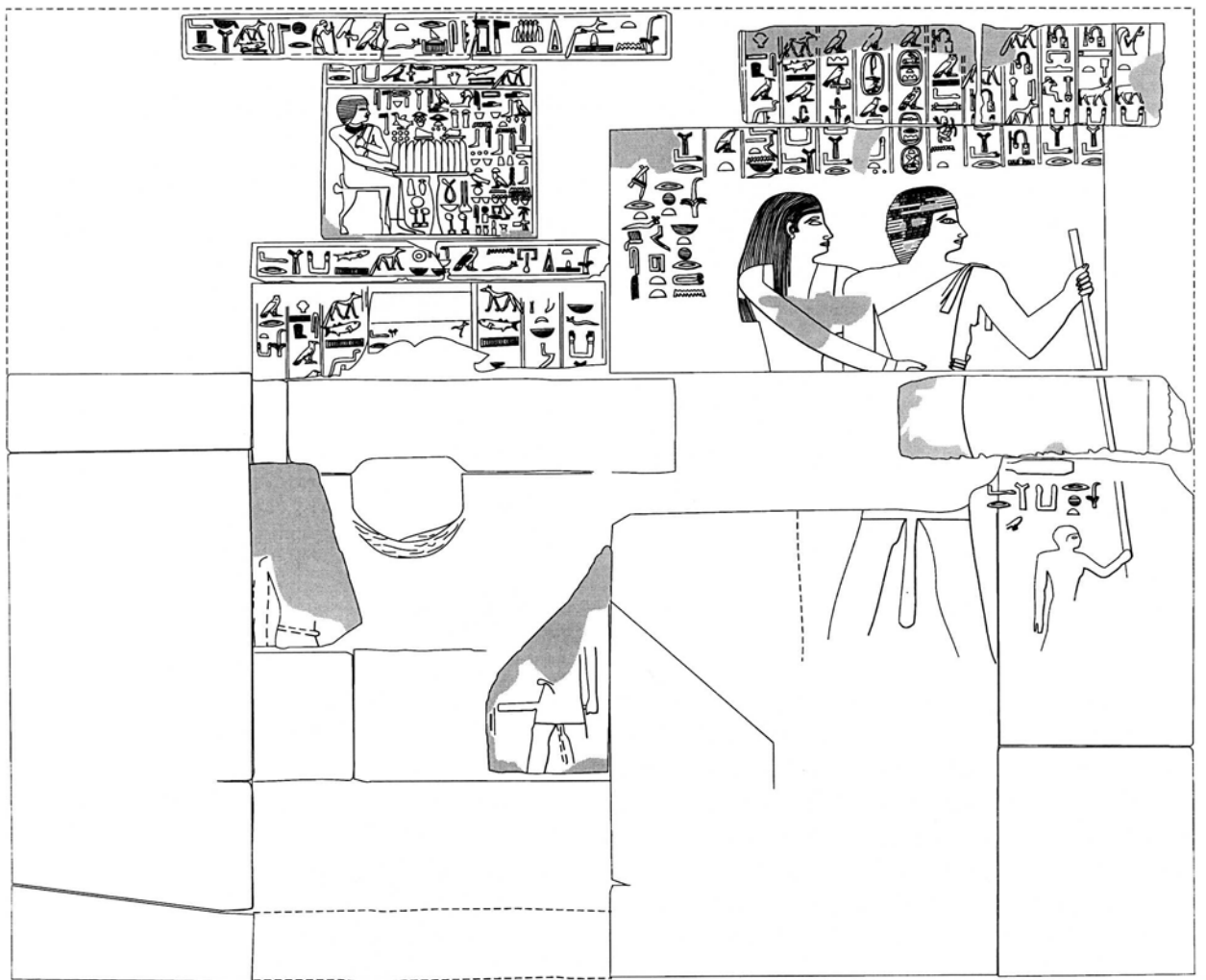


Fig. 4.24 – Reconstruction of the west wall (1 : 20)

1. “Herdsman of the dappled cattle, Kaaper,
2. scribe of the pasture lands of the dappled cattle, Kaaper,
3. scribe of the department of documents, cadet, Kaaper,
4. inspector of the scribes of the *z3b*, [overseer] of the scribes of documents of the *z3b* (1),
5. scribe of the *z3b*, Kaaper,
6. scribe of the king’s army,
7. in Wenet, in Serer, (in) Tapa,
8. in Ida, (in) the Terraces of the Turquoise,
9. in the western and eastern foreign lands, Kaaper,
10. *ḏ-mr* official of the *z3b*, great one of the ten(s) of Upper Egypt, Kaaper,
11. privy to the secrets, who seeks out what is right for his lord,
12. ..., [pillar] of the *kenemet*,
13. ..., Kaaper, ..., property custodian of the king, his beloved [wife], the honoured one in the sight of her husband, Tjenenet.”

1) The emendation of *(j)m(j)-r* at the beginning of column 5 has already been suggested by Fischer.²³⁹

This reconstruction has, however, some weak points, since under normal circumstances – in contrast with *shḏ (j)m(j)-r*, *(j)m(j)-r* precedes the element with which it is connected.²⁴⁰ Fischer draws attention to only one example that might be brought in support of the suggested reconstruction (tomb of Heti in Giza).²⁴¹ Another aspect which seems to disqualify the suggested reconstruction is the fact that the remaining titles on the wall are not continued over two neighbouring columns. But it may be possible that the terminal position of *(j)m(j)-r* was chosen intentionally to be in formal accordance with the preceding title where the *shḏ* also occupies the last position in the title.

The orientation of Kaaper and his wife facing to the right is very uncommon within the context of the single false door chapels.²⁴² Much more it resembles Strudwick’s stage two in development of two false door chapels where the major figures

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

on the west wall are facing to the right. He dates the appearance of this stage into the reign of Sahura or slightly later.²⁴³

4.2.2 Substructure

The substructure of the tomb consisted of a single shaft situated 6.50 m to the west from the eastern and 19.20 m to the north from the southern face of the tomb. The shaft opening measured 2.65 (N–S) × 2.30 m (E–W) and was lined with irregular limestone blocks to a depth of 6 m. The whole depth of the shaft reached 23.15 m. The filling of the shaft started about 1 m below the shaft opening. It was a secondary and quite homogenous fill which consisted of windblown sand mixed with *tafl* and limestone lumps. The finds discovered during the course of the excavation of the shaft proved that the burial chamber had been robbed quite recently. At a depth of 2 m was found a newspaper scrap from the 1920s, at a depth of 6 m, modern reed baskets and, at 12 m, a bakelite lamp ring. Apart from this, there were some intrusive finds which probably originated from the burial chamber of Kaaper:

– Excav. No. 13/AA/91 (pl. LXXVIb)

Fragment of a diorite bowl found at a depth of 2.0 m. The fragment, with a slightly inwards inclined rim, measured 9.5 × 12.5 cm and 1.1 cm in thickness.

– Excav. No. 14/AA/91 (pl. LXXVIa)

Basalt hammer found at a depth of 4 m and measuring 12 × 7 cm.

– Excav. No. 20/AA/91 (pl. LXXVIc)

A slightly convex fragment of an alabaster vase with a plastic zig-zag line, measuring 7 × 5.5 cm and 1 cm in thickness.

At the bottom of the shaft there were two steps (0.25 and 0.30 m high) descending to the south. From here runs a 2.55 m long corridor (0.90–1.00 m high and 1.35 m wide) to the southwest which opens into a burial chamber. Starting at the north of the corridor, at its west wall there was a low bench, a platform 1.37 m high, 0.82 m wide and 2.57 m long, built of limestone lumps joined with muddy mortar. The chamber itself is also aligned in a northeast – southwest direction and measures 6.60 m (N–S) × 3.55 (E–W), its height is 1.65 m. The roof level of the chamber is approximately the same as that of the passage. The entrance into the chamber has a low step between the floor of the corridor and the floor of the cham-

ber. The chamber was much destroyed due to the poor quality of *tafl* bedrock that had fallen down from collapsing walls and the roof of the chamber. Huge layers of *tafl* destruction were found all over the chamber. 4.50 m of the burial chamber (starting from the south) were virtually filled with secondarily accumulated *tafl* layers that were 1.10 m high. The poor quality of bedrock and the potential danger prohibited the complete cleaning of the underground.

The finds from the burial chamber were interesting, but few in number. Beside the anthropological remains, they consisted mainly of funeral pottery:

– Excav. No. 21/AA/91 (pl. LXXIIa)

A limestone left ear from a reserve head. The ear is almost completely preserved and is 6.5 cm high, 3.2 cm wide and 2.4 (max.) in thickness. It was found in the burial chamber together with other scattered remains of the original burial equipment. It is possible that the head had been placed on the platform in the corridor.²⁴⁴

Similar ear finds are attested from Abusir (one example, the Fifth Dynasty), Dahshur (one example, the Fourth Dynasty), Saqqara (one example, the Sixth Dynasty) and from Giza (four examples).²⁴⁵ They were found in burial chambers of Setju (G 4710A),²⁴⁶ G 4510A,²⁴⁷ Iabtet (G 4650)²⁴⁸ and G 4260 (IIn).²⁴⁹

The existence of the ear indicates that part of the original equipment was a reserve head which was probably placed in the shaft that connected it with the burial chamber.

– Excav. No. 24/AA/91

Remains of the destroyed body of Kaaper were found scattered throughout the burial chamber. They belonged to a burial of a man (adultus II).

Beside this, there was a collection of pottery fragments from miniature models of bowls and cups and several dozens of two large storage vessels (see below).

²⁴² Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 49.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–48.

²⁴⁴ For the original placement of the reserve heads and their interpretation see Junker, *Giza I*, pp. 57–61 and 43, fig. 4; Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, *passim*.

²⁴⁵ For an overview with pertinent literature see *ibid.*, p. 41ff.

²⁴⁶ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 524; 522, fig. 325 (14–3–18) and pl. 69f, the ear was 6.9 cm high, 3.5 cm wide and 2 cm in thickness.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 518, fig. 321 (15–12–34), 6.9 cm high and 3.8 cm wide.

²⁴⁸ Junker, *Giza I*, p. 226; Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, pl. 30e.

²⁴⁹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pp. 190–191 and Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, pp. 124–125 and pl. 30a–b.

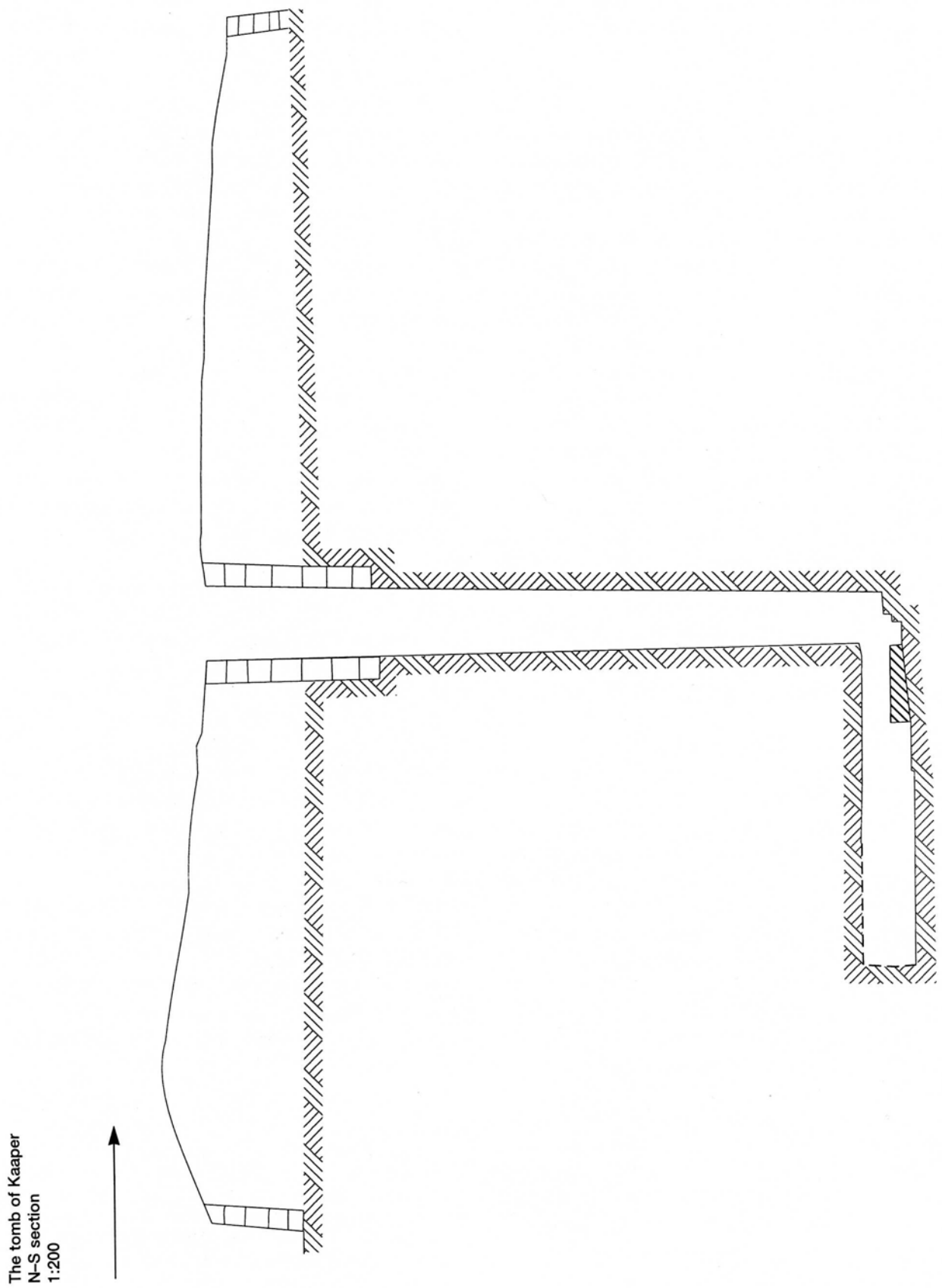


Fig. 4.25 – N-S section of the mastaba

4.2.3 The titles and the name of Kaaper²⁵⁰

(the numbers follow the arrangement made by Fischer in his study in 1959 [including the numbered epithets]; the new titles of Kaaper are appended at the end of the list):

1. *Mnjw z3b(w)t*

"Herdsman of dappled cattle."²⁵¹

One of the first attestations of this infrequent title (its variant is *hrp mnjw z3b(wt)*) is dated to the Third Dynasty and it comes from the tomb of Akhetaa, nowadays in Berlin.²⁵² According to Fischer, the term *z3bwt* in this context referred to black and white spotted cattle.²⁵³

2. *zš mr(w) z3b(w)t*

"Scribe of the pasture land(s) of the dappled cattle."²⁵⁴

This title is, according to Fischer, the only example attested from the Old Kingdom.

3. *zš pr-md3t*

"Scribe of the department of documents."²⁵⁵

The department of documents was a central residential administrative institution with responsibility for the registration of the common folk.²⁵⁶ It is thus possible to associate this title with several other titles of Kaaper connected with the organization of work and expeditions for the central government and with administration activities (Nos. 4–15, 20–22, 25, 27).

4. *nfr*

"(Young) recruit."²⁵⁷ This title, associated both with young men and women,²⁵⁸ that were raised for taking part in an expedition (of whatever kind) by conscription.²⁵⁹

5. *shd zš(w) (n) z3b*

"Inspector of the scribes(s) of the *z3b*."²⁶⁰ Helck in his study of the Old Kingdom titles shows that this title was part of the chain of ranking titles with the title *ḥd-mr (n) z3b* being at the top of this hierarchy.²⁶¹ Interestingly, this group of titles, always with *z3b* in the first – honorific – position occurs in most cases without any determination of an office or administration department.²⁶²

6. *zš md3t (n) z3b*

"Scribe of documents of the *z3b*."²⁶³

For the interpretation of *z3b* see title no. 1 of Izeziseneb (p. 70).

7. ...*zš (n) z3b*

"...scribe of the *z3b*."

This original title may have been (*j*)*m(j)-r zš(w) (n) z3b* (see the previous discussion p. 175).²⁶⁴

8.–13.

zš mš^c nswt m Wnt, m Zrr, Tp3, m Id3, ḥtjw-(m)fk3t, ḥ3swt imntt, i3btt

"Scribe of the Army of the king in Wenet, in Serer, in Tapa, in Ida, Terraces of Turquoise and the Western and Eastern foreign lands."²⁶⁵

The toponym *Wenet* is attested several times throughout the Archaic and Old Kingdom period.²⁶⁶ The earliest reference for this fortified place was identified by Fischer on a wooden tablet from the First Dynasty (reign of Den).²⁶⁷ Helck in this connection suggests that the fortress was built by the Egyptians and that it housed an Egyptian garrison.²⁶⁸ It is determined by the sign of a foreign land (N25). Besides this, also the determinatives for fortified cities (O36 – with rounded corners) and houses (O1) are applied. In the tomb of Seneb at Giza, *Wenet* is mentioned together with *Ida* in connection with the Delta marsh boating scene depicting papyrus rattling (*Wenet* is related to the

²⁵⁰ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 257–272; see also Roccati in Donadoni, ed., *Der Mensch*, p. 85.

²⁵¹ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 257–258; Jones *Index* I, pp. 433–434, No. 1598.

²⁵² Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties*, pl. 7 (15302–15303).

²⁵³ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 257.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258; Jones, *Index* II, p. 853, No. 3116.

²⁵⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 258; Jones, *Index* II, p. 848, No. 3099.

²⁵⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 70–72; *idem*, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 104.

²⁵⁷ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 258–259 and *idem*, *OMRO* 41 (1960): 1–13; Jones, *Index* I, p. 483, No. 1807.

²⁵⁸ *WB* II, 258.1 "Jünglinge, bes. die Rekruten;" Junker, *Giza* I, pp. 158–160; Fischer, *OMRO* 41 (1960): 7ff.; Feucht, *Das Kind*, p. 524ff.

²⁵⁹ Faulkner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 34–35; Fischer, *OMRO* 41 (1960), pp. 5–6, note 20, p. 13 with note 52 and Posener-Kriéger, *RdE* 27 (1975), 212.

²⁶⁰ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 259; Jones, *Index* II, p. 814, No. 2978.

²⁶¹ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 82.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁶³ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 259; Jones, *Index* II, p. 812, No. 2968.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 803, No. 2933.

²⁶⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 260–265; *idem*, *JARCE* 2 (1963): 50; Helck, *Beziehungen*, pp. 16–17; Jones, *Index* II, pp. 854–855, Nos. 3120–3125.

²⁶⁶ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 261–263; Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen*, pp. 67–69.

²⁶⁷ Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pl. 11.4.

²⁶⁸ Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, pp. 159–160.

first boat).²⁶⁹ In the autobiography of Weni, the place is determined with three signs O36 and connected with camps of semi-nomadic enemies. Fischer arrives at the conclusion that, down to the Fifth Dynasty, Wenet was a single fortified place whereas following this date it became a designation for several places. In both cases, the location of the site is to be sought on the northeastern Egyptian border,²⁷⁰ according to Helck perhaps around the town of Raffah.²⁷¹

Serer, probably, was another fortified settlement either on the northeastern or on the northwestern border of Egypt (judging by the subsequent titles of Kaaper). This site is otherwise unattested from the Old Kingdom.²⁷²

Serer is followed by the sites of *Tepa* and *Ida*. *Tepa* is attested twice from the Old Kingdom period and it seems that its character did not differ from the previous sites.²⁷³ *Ida* is another infrequently attested place name.²⁷⁴ It is attested in conjunction with Wenet in the tomb of Seneb at Giza in the scene of papyrus rattling where it is related to the second of the three boats depicted in the marshes of the Delta. It is therefore possible that these two place names were closely connected.

"Terraces of the Turquoise" is a designation for the turquoise mining site of Wadi Maghara in Sinai that was exploited from the Third Dynasty onwards, starting as early as with the reign of Djoser and that focused on copper ore procurement.²⁷⁵

The evidence for the sites Wenet, Serer, *Tepa* and *Ida* is extremely sparse during the given period and it is probably of some importance that only with one exception they are not attested in later periods.²⁷⁶ This corroborates their supposed character: fortified military camp-sites with Egyptian troops situated behind the northeastern Egyptian border. It is equally possible that these sites were surrounded by camps of semi-nomadic local populations who provided some economic support for the Egyptian mining caravans to Sinai as was

the case with the New Kingdom forts on the Ways of Horus.²⁷⁷ The only exception is the toponym *Tepa*, for which there is much later evidence from the small temple at Medinet Habu from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Here the name occurs in connection with Kush and Edel therefore suggested that it is a Nubian settlement.²⁷⁸

It may be also remarked that all the city names are inside simplified ovals (without bastions). They probably represent ground plans of fortified cities. This type of fortification developed in Palestine during the EB II period.²⁷⁹ Given the fact that their Egyptian counterparts are not known, it seems likely to suppose that the fortresses referred to by Kaaper were built by the locals and that within these cities were stationed Egyptian garrisons where also Kaaper executed his office as a scribe at a certain stage in his career. The fact that following the EB I period, there are no more Egyptian settlements nor any other proof of Egyptian presence in south Canaan,²⁸⁰ the only likely option is to seek the location of these settlements along the north Sinai coastal line connecting the Egyptian Eastern Delta with western Asia. The fact that Wadi Maghara quarries are referred to by Kaaper in this connection makes this reconstruction even more intelligible.

Finally, one is tempted to conclude that given Kaaper's exceptional titles 1) and 2) – "herdsman of dappled cattle" and "scribe of the pasture land(s) of the dappled cattle", he was also involved with administration of the pasture lands, placed probably in the Eastern Delta.

14. *ꜥd-mr (n) z3b*

"Administrator of *z3b*."²⁸¹

For the definition of the honorifically transposed *z3b* see title no. 1 of Izeziseneb (p. 70).

The title itself is attested from the First Dynasty onwards.²⁸² Fischer in his discussion of the title quotes several examples with the indirect genitive writing.²⁸³ Helck in his study equals the *ꜥd-mr* and *ꜥd-mr (n) z3b* variants. He puts this title on the top

²⁶⁹ Junker, *Giza V*, p. 69, fig. 16.

²⁷⁰ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 264.

²⁷¹ Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 17.

²⁷² Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen*, p. 197.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

²⁷⁵ Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai II*, pl. 1. For the site see Givon, *LÄ III* (1980), cols. 1135–1137. Copper ore: see summary by J. Ogden, in Nicholson, Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 149ff.

²⁷⁶ Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, *passim*.

²⁷⁷ Oren, in Rainey, ed., *Egypt, Israel, Sinai*, pp. 69–119.

²⁷⁸ Edel, *Meroitica* 12 (1990): 80–81.

²⁷⁹ Herzog, *Archaeology of the City*, p. 42ff.; Kempinski, Reich, eds., *Architecture of Ancient Israel*, p. 68ff.

²⁸⁰ See Brandl, in *Nile Delta in Transition*, pp. 441–477 and a latest summary by Marcus, *Maritime Trade*, pp. 17–34.

²⁸¹ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 265; Jones, *Index II*, p. 806, No. 2947.

²⁸² Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 83.

²⁸³ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 265.

of the hierarchy for scribes of the documents (of the *z3b*) starting with (*j*)*r*(*j*) *md3t* (*n*) *z3b* and continuing with *shd* (*j*)*r*(*jw*) *md3t* (*n*) *z3b*, *zš* (*n*) *z3b*, *shd* *zš*(*w*) (*n*) *z3b*, (*j*)*m*(*j*)-*r* *zš*(*w*) (*n*) *z3b* and terminating with *ḥd-mr* (*n*) *z3b*.²⁸⁴ His argument therefore makes it possible to reconstruct the beginning of the sixth column on the west wall as (*j*)*m*(*j*)-*r* *zš*(*w*) (*n*) *z3b* (title no. 7) though with *z3b* in the second position.²⁸⁵

15. *wr md Šmʿw*

“Great one of the ten(s?) of Upper Egypt.”²⁸⁶

The earliest holders of the title were the highest officials of the late Third – early Fourth Dynasty such as Sepa, Akhetaa, Akhtihotep, Pehernefer, Metjen and Rahotep.²⁸⁷ Helck suggests that the title was associated both with officials in the provinces who were in charge of royal works (which applies also for Kaaper, see his title No. 27) and simultaneously with the officials responsible for granary and treasury administration.²⁸⁸ Both Fischer and Goedicke show that the title was quite frequently associated with the title of (*j*)*m*(*j*)-*r* *s3w* *Šmʿw*. They consider both of them as being functional titles, usually applied in connection with conscription and the supervision of the male workforce.²⁸⁹ This interpretation seems to match with some other titles of Kaaper – Nos. 4, 22, 25 and 27.

16. *hr(j)-sšt3*

“Privy to the secret(s).”²⁹⁰

This title was studied in detail by Rydström. His analysis included a scrutiny of all holders of the title occurring throughout the Old Kingdom. His conclusions show that there were no holders of this title during the first three dynasties. The first holders of the title occur first during the Fourth Dynasty but are still sporadic after this (eleven in all,²⁹¹ seven of them are *hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw3t*). Their number increases suddenly in the Fifth Dynasty

(96 holders)²⁹² and lessens again only during the Sixth Dynasty.²⁹³ The rare occurrence of the title during the latter half of the Fourth Dynasty, and the fact that at this time the title was reserved primarily just for the members of the royal family, lends some weight to the suggestion by Rydström that the title described the character of the duties rather than the function proper.

17. *dʿ(r) m3ʿt n nb.f*

“Who seeks out what is right for his lord.”²⁹⁴

This is not to be classified as a title but as an epithet; it is only sporadically attested.

18. *Jwn knmwt*

“Pillar of the *knmt*.”²⁹⁵

According to the *Wörterbuch*, the title was associated with the highest administrative officials of the state.²⁹⁶ This title occurs already during the Third Dynasty on a block from the tomb of Akhetaa in the Louvre.²⁹⁷ Following Helck, who translates the title as “pillar of the panther people,” the context of the title is juridical.²⁹⁸ Strudwick also shows that, during the Old Kingdom, this legal title is closely associated with the non-viziral holders of the (*j*)*m*(*j*)-*r* *hwt-wrt* title (in conjunction with *hm-ntr M3ʿt* and *mdw rhjt*).²⁹⁹

19. *wḏ-mdw [n hr(jw)-wḏb(w)]*

“Giver of orders [to masters of the king’s largess].”³⁰⁰

This title was restored by Fischer at the top of x+1 column on Loose block 6. For the understanding of *hrj-wḏb* in the sense “the one who is responsi-

²⁸⁴ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 82.

²⁸⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 265.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 265–266; Jones, *Index* I, pp. 388–389, No. 1437.

²⁸⁷ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 19; *idem*, *Thinitenzeit*, pp. 242–243, 249, 266–268, 278, 280.

²⁸⁸ *Idem*, *Beamtentitel*, p. 19.

²⁸⁹ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 266 and Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, p. 103 (Coptos B). See also Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 222.

²⁹⁰ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 266–267; Jones, *Index* II, p. 609, No. 2233.

²⁹¹ Rydström, *DE* 28 (1994): 86, enumerates 15 holders of this title dating to the Fourth Dynasty; according to Porter-Moss

there are four of them, however, dated to the Fourth Dynasty erroneously: Niankhra (No. 6)– *PM* III, p. 234, probably Fifth Dynasty; Netjeraperef (No. 8)– *PM* III, p. 879: middle Fifth Dynasty or later; Khufukhaf (II)(No. 10)– *PM* III, p. 190 – time of Nyuserra; Seshathotep (No. 12)– *PM* III, p. 149 – early Fifth Dynasty. On the other hand, the tomb of Debeheni at Giza, which is traditionally dated to the Fourth Dynasty (*PM* III, p. 235), is by Rydström dated to the Fifth Dynasty (p.89).

²⁹² Rydström, *DE* 28 (1994): 86–89.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 89–91.

²⁹⁴ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 267; Jones, *Index* II, p. 1010, No. 3744.

²⁹⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 267; Jones, *Index* II, p. 6, No. 22.

²⁹⁶ *Wb* I, 53.18.

²⁹⁷ Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties*, pl. 6, Louvre B1 and B2; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, Nos. 14–15 – pp. 96–103.

²⁹⁸ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 74, *idem*, *Thinitenzeit*, p. 245, followed by Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 178.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 179, tab. 8.

³⁰⁰ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 267; Jones, *Index* I, p. 407, No. 1500.

ble for/administers the (sustenance) deeds (piece of land)” see title no. 3 of Rahotep (p. 72). Following Helck, most of the title holders also held legal and administrative titles such as *ḥd-mr* (n) *z3b*, *mdw rhjt*, *hrp/(j)m(j)-r wsht*, *hm-ntr M3t*, *jwn knmt*, *wr mḏ Šmʿw*, (j)m(j)-r *hwt wrt* or *nzt hntt*.³⁰¹ This shows that the title was associated with the same sort of duties, probably at the court of the king. It is also surprising that the overwhelming numbers of its holders were buried at Saqqara.³⁰²

20. *hrp jz df3*, *hrp jzwj df3*

“Inspector of the department (both departments) of provisioning.”³⁰³

The title seems to be attested as early as during the Third Dynasty (reign of Djoser or prior to his reign).³⁰⁴ This title occurs in the tomb chapel in two variants. On the eastern wall the title is given in the dual, whereas, on the west wall, it appears in the singular.³⁰⁵ According to Helck, the original singular form of the office *hrp jz df3* was replaced at the beginning of the Old Kingdom by the dual form (j)m(j)-r *jzwj df3*.³⁰⁶ Our evidence shows, however, that still in the time of Kaaper both singular and dual forms were used, in both cases with *hrp*. The graphical rendering of *jz* underwent a change during the Third Dynasty when the original sign M40 was replaced with the sign Q1.³⁰⁷ This office was part of the treasury and was responsible for income management (“Lebensmittelverwaltung”) both of the state and of the king.³⁰⁸ The virtual absence of the title in the titularies of the highest officials of the Third – Fourth Dynasties seems to be an argument *ex silentio* for the assumption that the title belonged to lower ranking officials.

21. *hrp pr-hd*

“Inspector of the treasury.”³⁰⁹

Both Strudwick and Fischer drew attention to this title without any known counterpart from the Old Kingdom.³¹⁰ This title, in combination with some others (nos. 5–7, 16, 19, 20) shows that Kaaper had, at least for some time, quite an interesting career at the court in the Residence and was employed in several departments instrumental in the running of the central royal administration.³¹¹

22. *hrp tm3t(jw) nb(w)*

“Inspector of all the bowcase bearers.”³¹²

Cheverau collected all eight holders of the title from the Old Kingdom, most of them being dated to the Fifth Dynasty (the oldest holder being Rahotep from Meidum).³¹³ This title was in several cases associated with the overseers of the army.³¹⁴

23. (j)m(j)-r...

“Overseer of”³¹⁵

The restoration of this title of Loose block 6 is impossible, but rather than to suppose that there was a completely new title of Kaaper, it is more likely that, originally, this was one of the attested titles of Kaaper (No. 25 or the hypothetically reconstructed title No. 7).

24. *n(j) jb ntr.f*

“One who belongs to the heart of his god.”³¹⁶

Fischer, when discussing this epithet, shows that there is only one more example of this expression known from the Old Kingdom (CG 57142).

25. (j)m(j)-r *m3ʿ*,

“Overseer of the army.”³¹⁷

The holders of the title were collected by Cheverau – she lists 64 examples from the Old Kingdom. The title was extensively discussed by

³⁰¹ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 74 and Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 178–179.

³⁰² For their enumeration see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 74, note 53 and Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 179, tab. 8.

³⁰³ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 267 with details of the title’s graphic variants; Jones, *Index* II, p. 746, No. 2723.

³⁰⁴ Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, p. 255.

³⁰⁵ For the dual form of the title, see the Fourth Dynasty tomb G 2110 of Nefer – Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, pp. 424–425, fig. 241; Jørgensen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* I, p. 45.

³⁰⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 60.

³⁰⁷ Compare Kahl, *Inschriften*, old form: p. 9 – NE/E1/1, 11 – Ne/Ab/5, 21 – Ne/Be/15, new form: 57 – Ne/Sa/29.

³⁰⁸ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 59–60; *idem*, *Thinitenzeit*, p. 219; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 129.

³⁰⁹ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959), 267, tab. 27; Jones, *Index* II, p. 714, No. 2604.

³¹⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 297.

³¹¹ See Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 59–63; Schmitz, *LÄ* V (1984), cols. 536–539, Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 276ff.

³¹² Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 267–268; Jones, *Index* II, p. 754, No. 2747.

³¹³ Cheverau, *RdE* 38 (1987): 35; Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 9.

³¹⁴ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 100.

³¹⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 268.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 268; Jones, *Index* I, p. 470, No. 1748.

³¹⁷ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 268–269 with a discussion of the noun *m3ʿ* and its translation as “army” and “expedition,” Jones, *Index* I, p. 142, No. 551.

Eichler.³¹⁸ The title was connected with the persons charged with the leading of expeditions, probably of any kind (military, mining, etc. – see title 27 below³¹⁹). The title occurs as early as during the First Dynasty in the Sinai (reign of Semerkhet),³²⁰ but the true introduction of the title falls at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (Meidum's officials Rahotep and the owner of Mastaba 7).³²¹ The analysis of the title by Eichler shows that during the Fourth Dynasty the title was associated with high officials of the residence who were *wr md Šm^cw* and almost always also *z3 nswt n ht.f*.³²² Eichler also draws attention to the fact that the title was closely connected with building activities of the state/king.³²³ This is also the case with Kaaper who held the title "overseer of [all?] the works of the king (No. 27). The status of these officials significantly decreases in the Fifth Dynasty, probably in connection with changes that took part at its beginning.³²⁴

26. ...*nb.f*

"...of his lord."³²⁵

Another epithet similar to no. 24.

27. (*j*)*m(j)-r k3(w)t [nbt?] (nt) nswt*

"Overseer of [all?] works of the king."³²⁶

This title occurs from the late Third Dynasty onwards.³²⁷ J. Krejčí, in his recent study of the title, shows that it was usually associated with the highest officials of the state and quite frequently connected with the title of the vizier (in 35 cases), great one of the ten(s) of Upper Egypt (25 attestations) and overseer of the army (10 examples); in 18 (19) cases the holders of the title were also connected with the administration of the granaries

(treasury).³²⁸ The connection of the title with that of overseer of army supplies some additional evidence for the understanding of the latter title. It reveals that overseers of the army were concerned both with military and non-military expeditions.³²⁹

28. *tp(j) hrt- nswt*

"Property administrator of the king."

This title has been recently discussed by H. Goedicke.³³⁰ According to his definition, the title was designed for officials executing temporarily limited administration of the property of the king in his earthly authority (*nswt*).³³¹ In the case of Kaaper it would probably mean legal/administrative aspects connected with his offices in foreign lands.

29. *hm-ntr Hkt*

"Priest of Heket"³³²

The holders of the title *hm-ntr Hkt* were collected by B. Begelsbacher-Fischer.³³³

This title of Kaaper is twice attested in his tomb – in one instance, on the lintel above the entrance, and in another on his libation basin in the floor of the chapel.³³⁴ Significantly, it does not occur in the enumeration of his titles on the western wall. Only fourteen holders of the title from the Old Kingdom are known. It seems that its holders were closely associated with the burial ceremonies in the Abusir – Saqqara necropolis with its lakes that provided the main approaches into the cemetery. Most of these officials were active during the Fifth Dynasty when the necropolis flourished.³³⁵

30. *K3(j)-^cpr(w)*

The name Kaaper ("my ka is equipped") is well-attested during the Old Kingdom, both at Giza and Saqqara.³³⁶ The name may be rendered in several

³¹⁸ Cheverau, *RdE* 38 (1987): 15–21; Eichler, *Expeditions-wesen*, pp. 221–234.

³¹⁹ See, for instance, Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 99; *idem*, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 127; Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 268–269; Posener-Krieger, *RdE* 32 (1980): 92; Eichler, *Expeditionswesen, passim*, Husson, Valbelle, *L'état et les institutions*, p. 143.

³²⁰ Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, pl. I, 1b.

³²¹ Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 9 and 16; Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, p. 231.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

³²⁴ For the summary see Bárta, *ArOr* 67/1 (1999): 12–14.

³²⁵ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 269; Jones, *Index* I, p. 470, No. 1748.

³²⁶ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 269; Jones, *Index* I, pp. 262–263, No. 950.

³²⁷ Its oldest holder known so far is Akhetaa – Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, No. 14, p. 97 and 99.

³²⁸ Krejčí, *Ä&L* 10 (2000): 68–75 and tab. 1 on p. 68. See also Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 308–309, tab. 29 and Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 99.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99; see also Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, p. 231.

³³⁰ Goedicke, in Allam, ed., *Grund und Boden*, pp. 227–234 with an overview of previous studies of the title.

³³¹ For the notion of the designation *nswt* see Goedicke, *Stellung des Königs*, pp. 17–34 and Silverman, in O'Connor, Silverman, eds., *Egyptian Kingship*, pp. 64–65;

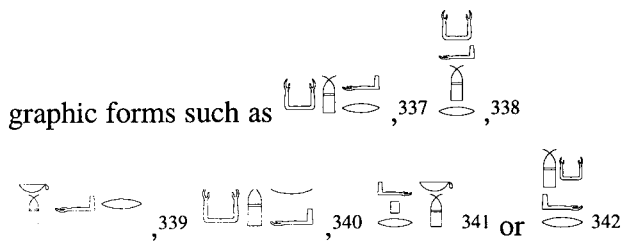
³³² Jones, *Index* II, pp. 564–565, No. 2084.

³³³ Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 230.

³³⁴ For a study on this title see Bárta, *JNES* 58/2 (1999): 107–116.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 111–116.

³³⁶ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, p. 338.24.



and it seems that it appears not earlier than during the Fourth Dynasty. Apart from Kaaper himself, there was his like-named son, Kaaper who was *(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt*, and his wife Tjenteti, who held title *(j)r(jt)-(j)ht nswt* and had the epithet “his beloved [wife], well provided in the sight of her husband.”

H. G. Fischer in his study reconstructed the hypothetical genealogy of Kaaper and his family.³⁴³ It can be summarized as follows: Kaaper the elder is probably attested on the false door of his presumed father Iy and mother Neferet in tomb C26 at Saqqara (southeast of the tomb of Kaaper at Abusir). Iy was also a high military official who held the titles of “overseer of the army, god’s chancellor of the boat, overseer of all royal works” and “keeper of the secrets of all foreign countries.”³⁴⁴ It is above all these titles that prompted Fischer to associate these two officials. One may add one more argument: on the false door of Kaaper, the father, his wife is equally provided with the same title and an epithet as the wife of Kaaper the elder: *(j)r(jt)-(j)ht nswt, j)m3h(wt) hr h(3y).s, Nfrrt*.³⁴⁵ On this false door Kaaper the younger is named as an “overseer of scribes”, which Fischer connects with Kaaper’s title No. 5 – one has to suppose that this title did not survive in Kaaper’s chapel.

Fischer also identifies the tomb of Kaaper, excavated by Hassan, with Kaaper, the younger who, among others, also held the titles of *(j)r(j)-(j)ht nswt, shd n sr(w)* and *(j)m(j)-r msc*.³⁴⁶ These titles allow Fischer’s further hypothetical identification with another official of the same name who left an inscription in Wadi Hammamat (Inscription No. 36) mentioning the very same titles.³⁴⁷ Fischer

in his discussion also involves the official Tjenty (possessor of tomb B1), whom he considers being also a member of the family (grandfather of the eldest son of Kaaper from tomb C26, also named Tjenty). One should be aware, however, of the possibility that tomb B1 shows features indicating its late Fifth Dynasty date.³⁴⁸ To sum up, it is quite possible that Kaaper, owner of the tomb C26 at Saqqara, may have been father of Kaaper at Abusir. In that case the tomb C26 would have been dated into the very late Fourth Dynasty and the tomb of Kaaper at Abusir at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.³⁴⁹ The son of Kaaper from Abusir may have been the owner of the Giza tomb excavated by Hassan. There is, however, to date no definite proof which would either confirm or reject the above reconstruction.

Another interesting feature in terms of family members and their archaeological attestations appears in Shaft 1, which might have been interpreted as a burial for Kaaper’s wife (see below, section 4.4, Shaft 1, p. 187).

4.2.4 Pottery from the mastaba

The pottery finds from the tomb will be part of a separate publication on pottery from Abusir South. Nevertheless, several features connected with the finds deserve some remarks. The analysed pottery may be divided into two groups according to their provenience: from the outside of the mastaba proper and from the burial chamber of Kaaper.

Pottery found outside the tomb was accumulated mainly behind the eastern wall of the corridor and was dominated by beer jars. These were found in two dense concentrations to the north of the screen wall at the entrance into the tomb. The first nest contained 13 almost complete beer jars, some more fragments of another 7 and several miniature bowls and plates (pl. LXXIIIa). Another nest of beer jars was discovered to the north and it contained 10 beer jars.³⁵⁰ The jars were made of Nile C,³⁵¹ being 0.25–0.27 m high, with low rolled rims. The pottery was probably deposited here after its use as offerings for the chapel. The remainder of the pottery consisted of miniature bowls and cups, bread moulds, low plates with a rib inside and Meidum bowls.

³³⁷ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 127.

³³⁸ Hassan, *Giza II*, p. 157, fig. 185.

³³⁹ *LD II*, pl. 94a.

³⁴⁰ *PM III*, p. 205 (G 7814).

³⁴¹ Mathieson, Smith et al., *Saqqara Project 1994*, fig. 10 (door lintel 011).

³⁴² Épron, Wild, *Ti I*, pl. 13.

³⁴³ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 254–255.

³⁴⁴ See Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pls. 1–2.

³⁴⁵ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 162.

³⁴⁶ Hassan, *Giza II*, pp. 155–158.

³⁴⁷ Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions*, pp. 66–67.

³⁴⁸ Bárta, *ArOr* 67/1 (1999): 17–20.

³⁴⁹ For the Fifth Dynasty or even later date of C26 see *PM III*, p. 565.

³⁵⁰ For their interpretation see Bárta, *CCE* 4 (1996): 127–131.

³⁵¹ Arnold, Bourriau, *Egyptian Pottery*, pp. 173–174 and pl. 2f.

Pottery from the burial chamber was found in a very fragmentary state. It consisted of two jars, each with two handles, and miniature cups and bowls. The jars were made of a foreign fabric, a relatively homogenous mass with the inclusion of middle-size and large particles of quartz and limestone, similar to "Canaanite Jar" fabric, with a combed surface, as classified by Do. Arnold in Dahshur.³⁵² These two vessels could only be partly reconstructed (pl. XXXVIIIb). The reconstruction has shown that the vessels were 0.32 m high (e.g. rather small when compared with other examples within the type³⁵³) with two flat handles and roll rims (0.09 m in diam.). The max. width of vessels was 0.22 m, the base being 0.10 m in diameter.

The sherd colour was orange-yellow, 0.7 cm thick, the vessel being built by the method of coiling, the exterior surface of the vessel being combed horizontally and vertically. The exteriors of the vessels were subsequently covered with yellowish, white creamy engobe which was applied also on the inside, but only in the opening.³⁵⁴ Similar vessels are known from Naqada and the First Dynasty burial of the King Djer at Abydos.³⁵⁵ Later on, this type of pottery reappears during the Fourth Dynasty at the time of Khufu and it continues to be imported down to the Sixth Dynasty (mainly in tombs at Giza – from here come altogether 47 out of 55 attested vessels,³⁵⁶ but also at Saqqara and once in Matmar).³⁵⁷ This ware is well known as "Combed/Metallic Ware."³⁵⁸ It seems that the same type of vessels is attested from the vicinity of the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur.³⁵⁹

Previously, it had been supposed that the jars were used as containers for imports of olive or cedar oil.³⁶⁰ Current analysis of imported pottery in ancient Egypt has shown, however, that the Early Dynastic imports originate from two areas in north Israel: Mount Hermon and Lake Qinneret

and that they contained lipids from vegetable oils.³⁶¹ Some other groups of vessels from the predynastic tomb U-j at Abydos, very similar in shape, though without the combed surface treatment, were used for the transportation of wine from Syria and Palestine.³⁶² The occurrence of the EB III slipped "Metallic ware" along the coast of northern Israel and southern Lebanon, with concentration between Bet Shean and Sidon (and the absence of this slipped ware in Palestine) indicates that the ware was imported to Egypt (from Giza only slipped exemplars are known) from centres in Syria, probably on large seagoing ships.³⁶³

Another class of pottery from the burial chamber consisted of about 300 fragments which may be divided into two types: miniature bowls and cups (pls. LXXIIIb, LXXIVa). These were made of Nile B1 by the method of coiling and were finished on a slow wheel,³⁶⁴ with a thick dark red slip both outside and inside. It seems that the whole set comprised not less than 10–12 cups, footed, and with inward curved rims and with a rib in the upper third of the vessel's height (being about 9–11 cm high and 3.5–4.2 diam. of the opening) and the same number of bowls. The bowls were 3.6–4.3 cm high, with a base of 7–7.5 cm and an opening 10.5–13 cm, the thickness of the sherds being 0.7–0.8 cm.

Finally, there was a group of larger pottery, such as fragments of two beer jars (see above) and of about 7 thin walled (0.5 cm) Meidum bowls with low rims.

4.2.5 Colour conventions (see pp. 121–123)

The only remnants from this tomb with preserved traces of colours are found in the blocks from Detroit, New York and Kansas.³⁶⁵ There we have:

Red – the skin of a man;

Black – the hair, eyebrow of a woman, rim of an eye, pellets in the words *t-jmj-t3*, *msdmt*, *hbnn*, *nbs*, and part of a collar;

Green – on collars worn by a man and a woman, the rim and the horizontal division line on the block above the entrance, the papyriform projec-

³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 185 and pl. 8b.

³⁵³ Esse, *Early Bronze Age Palestine*, p. 115, fig. 21.

³⁵⁴ For the petrographic composition of this class of pottery see Greenberg, Porat, *BASOR* 301 (1996): 13–18.

³⁵⁵ Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 33 and 36–37.

³⁵⁶ Esse, *Early Bronze Age Palestine*, p. 114.

³⁵⁷ Helck, *Beziehungen*, pp. 33–34 and 36–37. For the evidence see Junker, *Giza I*, pp. 119–126, pl. 43b; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis II*, pp. 74–76; fig. 80, 97–99; pls. 51–53.

³⁵⁸ Esse, *Early Bronze Age Palestine*, pp. 109–116. For the summary see now Marcus, *Maritime Trade*, pp. 49–52.

³⁵⁹ Arnold, *MDAIK* 38 (1982): 41, fig. 13.1.

³⁶⁰ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis II*, p. 75.

³⁶¹ Adams, Porat, in Spencer, ed., *Aspects of Early Egypt*, p. 104 and Serpico, White, in *ibid.*, p. 128, 138.

³⁶² Hartung, in Dreyer, *Umm El-Qaab I*, p. 96.

³⁶³ Esse, *Early Bronze Age Palestine*, pp. 110–114 and 116 and Greenberg, Porat, *BASOR* 301 (1996): 11, fig. 5.

³⁶⁴ Arnold, Bourriau, *Egyptian Pottery*, p. 171, pl. 1d.

³⁶⁵ The following summary of colours is based on Fischer's observations, see *JNES* 18/4 (1959): 240–241 and 254.

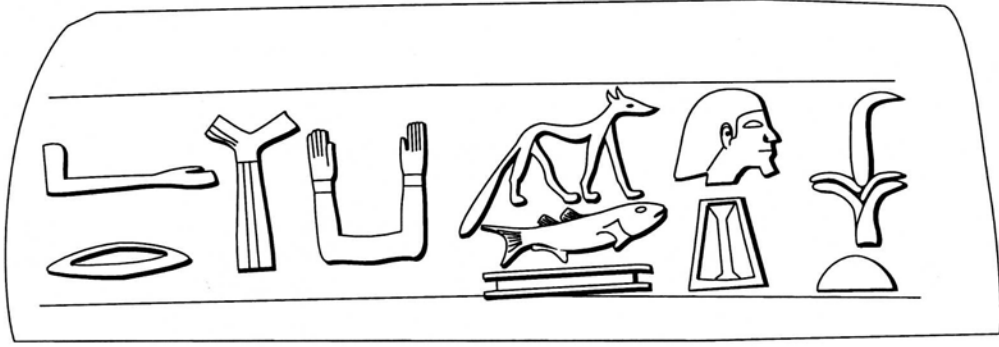


Fig. 4.26 – Fragment of a drum from the entrance into the chapel (1 : 5)

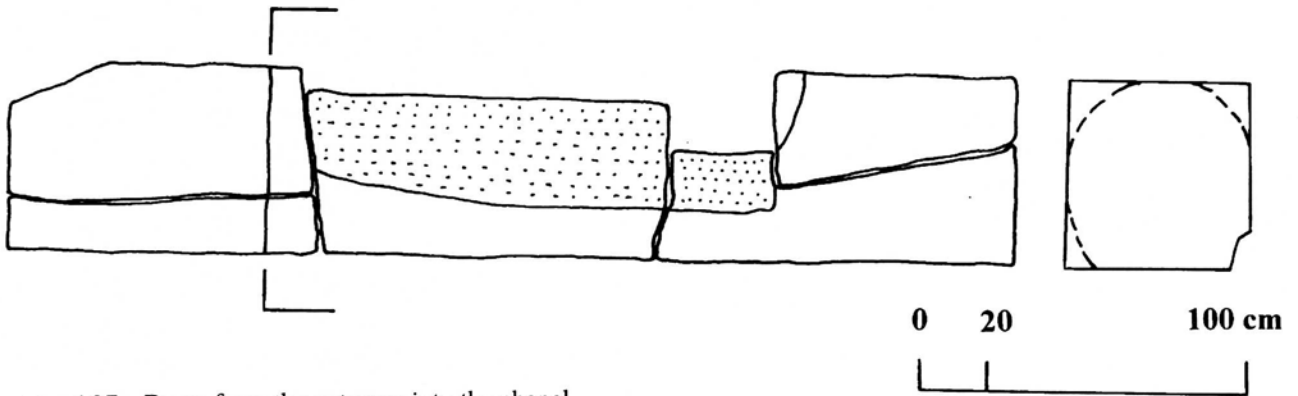


Fig. 4.27 – Drum from the entrance into the chapel

tion of the seat on the same block, pellets shown after “green eye paint”, background colour of the scenes and inscriptions in the chapel (see below the lintel found by I. Mathieson);

Yellow – the skin of a female, the shoulder strap of a man (perhaps not intentional), slices of bread on the east wall;

and several to isolated hieroglyphs:

D4 – eye is outlined in black;

E17 – black;

F4 – yellow;

K3 – green;

M12 – green;

M13 – green;

M17 – green;

M35 – black;

N18 – black;

N35 – black;

N36 – black;

N37 – black;

O4 – black;

W10 – black, green or yellow;

X1 – black;

X2 – red.

4.3 New monuments with the name of Kaaper

Quite recently, J. Malek brought to my attention two monuments that could be possibly associated with the tomb of Kaaper. One is an entrance drum sold at auction in London in 1990. The second was a lintel found by the National Museums of Scotland expedition at Saqqara in 1994. Both monuments bear the identical name of the tomb owner and also the graphic rendering of individual signs shows close similarities with inscriptions in the tomb of Kaaper (for details see Appendix 1).

The drum with the name of Kaaper and two of his titles *tp(j) hrt nswt, 'd-mr (n) z3b* was published in London's Sotheby's auction catalogue (fig. 4.26).³⁶⁶ The piece is 0.66 m long and 0.285 m high and shows a drum with a low relief inscription reading from the right to the left. The craftsmanship, as well as the details of hieroglyphs, permit us to suppose that the drum might

³⁶⁶ *Ancient Jewellery, Middle Eastern, Greek, Etruscan, Roman and Egyptian Antiquities, South Italian Greek Pottery Vases, Ancient Glass and Art Reference Books*, date of sale Tuesday, 10th July 1990 (London), p. 105, Lot 333.

have originated from the entrance into the tomb of Kaaper.

This interpretation is supported by a find that was made during the excavation of the tomb of Kaaper in 1991 (fig. 4.27, pl. LXXIVb). In the opening of the central shaft leading into the burial chamber of Kaaper there were found remains of a limestone lintel. The lintel was cleanly cut into five pieces and the central drum, once decorated, was missing.³⁶⁷ The lintel is 1.51 m long, 0.30 m high and 0.28 m deep. The central part between the ends of the lintel was 0.70 m long and preserved only in part. The missing portion had been sawn off in such a way that the empty space precisely accommodates the drum sold at Sotheby's in London. The sawing technique indicates that the drum may have been removed at the same time as the lintel that is nowadays kept in Geneva (and perhaps also the false door lintel – see below).

The false door lintel was published by I. Mathieson and H. Smith in their 1994 Saqqara Report (fig. 4.28, pl. XXXVIIa).³⁶⁸ The piece was found to the north of the North Wall of Gisir el-Mudir, on the Lower North Wall. The lintel is 1.40 m long, 0.14 m high and 0.39 m deep. It is made of fine Tura limestone and broken into four pieces. This lintel contains a single line of inscription in low relief and reads from the right from the



left:

Htp dj nswt, [htp] dj Jnpw, hnt(j) zh ntr, krst(j).f(j) m hrt-ntr (m-ht) j3wt hr ntr-3, 3d-mr (n) z3b, K3(j)-3pr(w).

“An offering which the king gives, (an offering) which Anubis gives, in front of the divine booth, may he be buried in the necropolis (after having reached) the age, in the presence of the Great God, administrator of z3b, Kaaper.”


The rightmost fragment bore traces of dark green paint on the plastic border. There is a possibility that the monument could be the lintel from the false door in Kaaper's tomb where it would fit well (fig. 4.24). The main obstacle to this identifi-

cation is the way his name written. In all attested instances of the writing of Kaaper's name in his tomb, there is only one graphic form applied:



whereas, on the newly discovered lintel



from Saqqara, the name is written as . Nevertheless, different graphic variants of the same tomb owner's name are also attested elsewhere, such as on the false door of Kahay at Saqqara where it is written in a similar style – both the *k* and *k3* signs are used alternatively in the writing of the name of Kahay.³⁶⁹

Once again, the hypothetical association of the artifact with the tomb of Kaaper is enabled by the style of the hieroglyphs and by the dimensions of the lintel that match with the false door of Kaaper. Moreover, it was found about 0.60 m below the desert surface in wind blown sand, probably hidden by the tomb robbers to be collected later.³⁷⁰ This observation also corresponds well with the intentionally disintegrated chapel of Kaaper.

4.4 Secondary structures around the mastaba

One shaft (Shaft 1) built between the wall separating the entrance corridor of Kaaper and the western face of the tomb of Ity and one small mudbrick tomb with three burial shafts were documented during the excavation of the mastaba of Kaaper.

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.10 x 1.10 m.

Depth: 4.50 m. This shaft was lined to a depth of 1.10 m with mudbricks (0.28 x 0.13 x 0.06 m). Its western wall was formed by the limestone wall of the entrance corridor of Kaaper and the eastern wall by the west wall of Ity's tomb. The northern (0.73 m in thickness) and southern (0.58 m) walls were made of mudbricks. These mudbrick walls start about 0.40 m above the floor of the corridor and were built directly onto the layer of anthropogenic materials with mudbrick and the Old Kingdom pottery. The following 1.20 m long section of the mudbrick walls was strengthened by stone walls.

Filling: The first 0.40 m consisted of mudbrick destruction, Old Kingdom pottery fragments and limestone lumps. It was followed by a 1.00 m

³⁶⁷ Obviously, the robbers had to cut unepigraphic ends off the lintel in order to be able to cut off the central decorated part.

³⁶⁸ Mathieson, Smith, *Saqqara Project 1994*, p. 3 and fig. 10 (011); object GM-NW-V+25/20-011 with surface context 200 (wind blown sand), find date 07/11/94. UTM co-ordinates of find: E326660 N305730. I owe this description to I. Mathieson (letter of 26/08/00).

³⁶⁹ Altenmüller, Moussa, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 32, I owe this observation to my colleague P. Vlčková.

³⁷⁰ Correspondence with I. Mathieson (letter of 26/08/00).

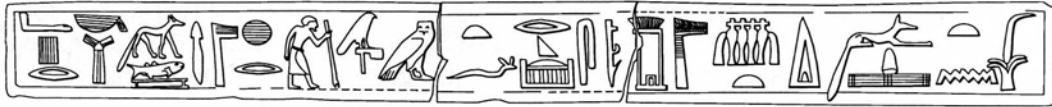


Fig. 4.28 – The false door lintel found in Saqqara by the National Museums of Scotland expedition (1 : 10)

thick layer of sand mixed with limestone lumps and Old Kingdom pottery. The remaining portion of the shaft was filled with wind-blown sand.

Burial: At the bottom of the shaft, in the west wall, there was a shallow burial chamber (Reisner's Type 6a[3]). The chamber was 1.10 m wide, 1.00 high and 0.50 m deep. The entrance was protected by a mudbrick wall (mudbricks 0.28 x 0.13 x 0.06 m), 0.64 m high and 0.28 m in thickness. Inside, lying in a 0.20 m thick layer of clean sand was a north-south oriented body on the left side in a contracted position and facing east (Excav. No. AA/18/91). It was the burial of an older female person (adultus II).

There is no indication of the identity of this person but, given its location within the tomb compound of Kaaper and the fact that it is the only shaft burial there, one cannot exclude the possibility that it was the wife of Kaaper.³⁷¹ Moreover, this shaft is almost exactly aligned with the shaft of Kaaper.

4.4.1 Tomb 2

This small mudbrick tomb was built close to the entrance into the tomb of Kaaper from the north, at the northwest corner of Ity's mastaba (pl. LXXXVa).

4.4.1.1 Superstructure

The ground plan of the tomb measured approximately 7.25×4.75 m (34.45 sq.m.). Its L-shaped chapel (3.85×1.37 m, 5.27 sq. m.) was accessible from the east. The walls of the chapel and of the tomb were preserved to a height of 1.00 m. Embedded in the west wall of the chapel were three niches. The first niche (proceeding from the south) was 0.52 m wide and 0.22 m deep. The second niche was 0.71 m wide and 0.23 m deep whereas the third one was only 0.17 m wide and 0.18 m deep. The first two niches were originally lined with limestone casing.

4.4.1.2 Substructure

The first two niches in the chapel corresponded with two shafts to the west of them: they were embedded in the superstructure of the tomb (Shaft 2 and 3). The biggest shaft (Shaft 1), however, was situated to the south of them.

Shaft 1

Shaft opening: 1.40 × 1.135 m.

Depth: 4.10 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks ($0.24 \times 0.14 \times 0.08$ m) in courses of headers and stretchers to a depth 0.88 m. The following 1.10 m was strengthened by limestone lumps joined with mortar and this section alternated again with a section of mudbricks (0.64 m long). The remaining portion was hewn out of *tafl*. Filling: the shaft went to a depth of 1.50 m and was filled with wind-blown sand mixed with limestone lumps, mudbrick destruction and Old Kingdom pottery fragments. The remaining portion was filled with sand, limestone chips and mudbrick destruction. At a depth of 2.00 m a fragment of a diorite bowl (Excav. No. 13/AA/91) was found. At a depth of 2.80 m some human bones with linen scraps and Old Kingdom pottery (beer jars and miniatures) were found. It is quite possible that some of these finds originated from the burial niche at the bottom of the shaft.

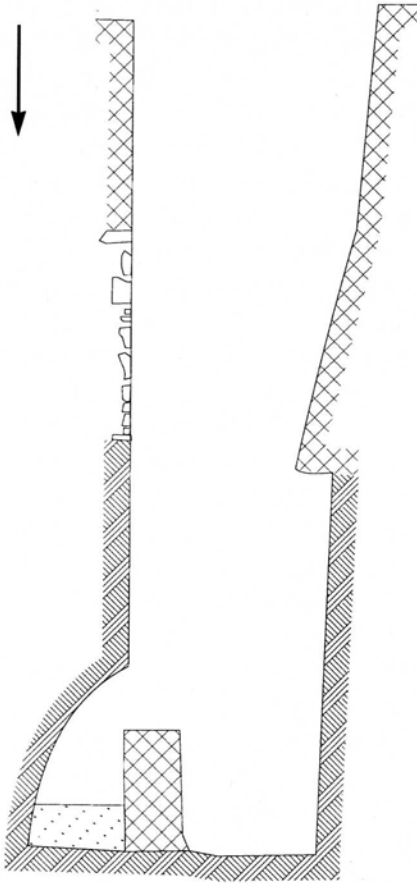
Burial: In the east wall of the shaft, 0.10 m above the bottom of the shaft, there was a shallow burial chamber 1.26 m wide, 1.20 m high and 1.00 m deep. The entrance was blocked by a 0.16 m thick mudbrick wall (mudbricks 0.28 x 0.16 x 0.08 m), broken through in the upper south corner (hole 0.60 x 0.50 m). In the niche (Reisner's Type 6a[3]) were found two disturbed burials (with remains of linen wrappings) with skulls at the south wall (Excav. No. 17a, b/AA/91). Given the position of bones it is possible that the bodies were lying on the left side in a contracted position and were facing west.³⁷² One body was determined as a female (17b/AA/91, maturus I) whereas the second body

³⁷¹ The research done by V. G. Callender on Old Kingdom female burials of elevated status in my opinion only validates this hypothesis, see Callender, *AH* 251 (1995): 1–15.

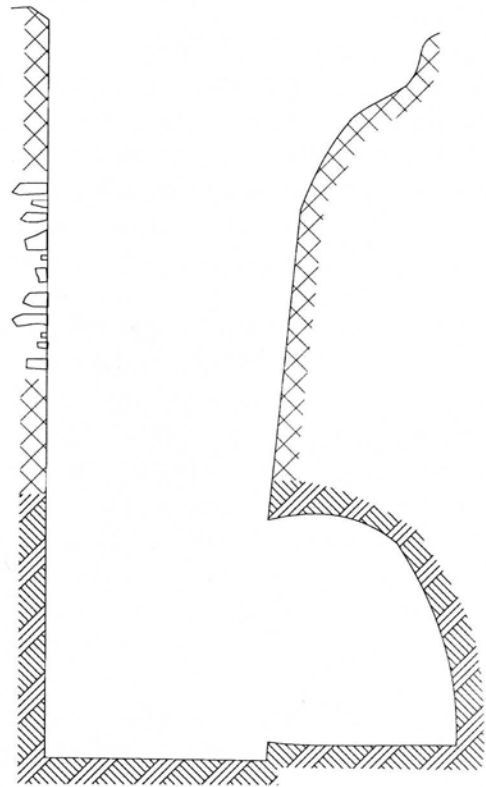
³⁷² On this unusual orientation during the Old Kingdom, see, Mace, *Naga ed-Der* II, pp. 31–32.

The tomb of Kaaper

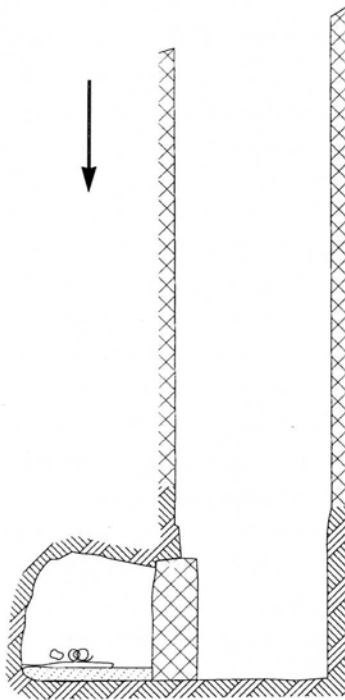
Kaaper
Shaft 1
1:20



Tomb 2
Shaft 1
1:20



Tomb 2
Shaft 2
1:20



Tomb 2
Shaft 3
1:20

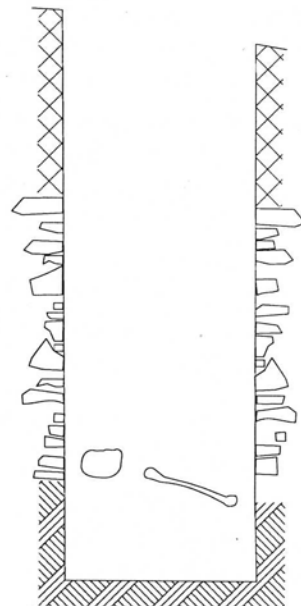


Fig. 4.29 – Tomb of Kaaper and Tomb 2, shafts

could be sexed only with some probability as a male.

Shaft 2

Shaft opening: 1.00 × 0.94 m.

Depth: 3.30 m. The walls of the shaft were lined to a depth of 2.50 with mudbricks (0.26 × 0.12 × 0.08 m), the rest was excavated in *tafl*.

Filling: 0–0.25 m wind-blown sand with mudbrick destruction, 0.25–0.60 m wind-blown sand mixed with limestone chips and Old Kingdom pottery fragments, 0.60–1.40 m wind-blown sand mixed with limestone chips, larger blocks and Old Kingdom pottery sherds, 1.40–1.90 m wind-blown sand mixed with limestone chips and Old Kingdom pottery, 1.90–3.30 m – fill of *tafl*.

Burial: In the eastern wall of the shaft was a burial chamber (Reisner's Type 6a[3]) 1.55 m wide, 0.60 m high and 0.95 m deep. The entrance was blocked by a 0.20 m thick mudbrick wall (mudbricks 0.26 × 0.13 × 0.08 m). The floor of the chamber was covered with a 6 cm thick layer of fine sand on which the body was originally lying. An interesting feature is the fact that the chamber was painted white. Only traces of the original burial consisting of bones and linen wrappings were found (Excav. No. 15/AA/91). Given the poor state of body preservation, it could not be sexed properly (female?, adultus I).

Shaft 3

Shaft opening: 1.04 × 0.95 m.

Depth: 2.80 m. The walls of the shaft were lined with mudbricks (0.26 × 0.12 × 0.08 m) to a depth of 0.90 m. The following 1.50 m were strengthened by limestone chips joined with mortar.

Filling: 0–0.20 m wind-blown sand, 0.20–2.40 m wind-blown sand mixed with mudbricks and limestone chips, 2.40–2.80 m wind-blown sand with limestone chips.

Burial: At a depth of 2.36–2.44 m a destroyed female (adultus I) burial with traces of linen wrappings (Excav. No. 16/AA/91) was discovered.

4.5 Conclusions

The tomb of Kaaper has been dated by various authors to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.³⁷³ This approximate date seems to be corroborated by the evidence discovered in the tomb, though it

is impossible to date the tomb more precisely. The scrutiny of the comparative material shows clearly that there are several features that allow us to suppose that there was a close connection between his tomb and with the contemporary early Fifth Dynasty tomb development at Giza on one side and the preceding Fourth Dynasty tomb building and decoration on the other side.

The single false door L-shaped chapels of Setju (G 4710) and Akhi (G 4750) at Giza probably represent the most important parallels with the tomb of Kaaper, both of them dated to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. Furthermore, the tomb of Setju is made more important by the find of a limestone ear from the original reserve head in the burial chamber. Such a find is relatively late in Giza following the Fourth Dynasty – which was in fact the peak time of reserve heads. Moreover, the occurrence of the reserve heads is limited to the tombs at Giza with only a few exceptions outside this site.³⁷⁴ The find of the limestone ear in the burial chamber of Kaaper thus establishes a close link with the Fourth Dynasty Giza tradition

In comparison with the single false door chapels at Giza (Reisner's type 3), the size of the chapel of Kaaper is apparently small. Its size seems to be much more in relation to the size of the two-niched chapels (Reisner's type 4) at the same site.³⁷⁵ The size of the chapel area matches with several early Fifth Dynasty chapels from Giza (Kanefer, Kanenesut [I], Nesutnefer, Seshemnefer [I], etc).

As far as the decoration program is concerned one may conclude the same, i.e. the closest counterparts are to be found at Giza. The tombs of Kanefer (G 2150) and Seshemnefer (I) (G 4940) provide some important parallels to the decoration in Kaaper's tomb. One very interesting feature is the distribution of decoration over the walls of the chapel. It seems that the individual motifs are derived from the newly evolving chapels with two false doors at Giza. By converting them to a single false door chapel, interesting features (such as Kaaper with his wife facing north on the west wall, the pair seated at the offering table on the eastern wall) could be presented. Another interesting feature is that Kaaper's wife is shown altogether three times in the tomb (on the east, west and north wall), always of the same or nearly the same size as Kaaper. Given her marked presence in the

³⁷³ Fischer, *JNES* 18/4 (1959), 240; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 125 (No. 139); *PM* III, p. 501; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 342.

³⁷⁴ For the summary see Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, p. 97ff.

³⁷⁵ Observation of P. Jánosi, see also Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, p. 214ff.

chapel it is indeed possible that she was buried in a shaft on the eastern side of the mastaba.

Further support for the close connection of Kaaper's tomb with the development at Giza is provided by two imported vessels of Syrian and Palestine origin. The occurrence of the imported pottery may be not only a consequence of a relatively high status of Kaaper, but, also, may have been connected with his appointments abroad or on the eastern frontier of the country, as reflected in his titles. The overview of the finds of this type of vessel carried out by Helck shows that it was with only few exceptions, reserved for the Giza tomb holders.³⁷⁶ Of great importance is also the autobiographic inscription on the north wall of Kaaper's chapel, one of the oldest examples of its kind.

One must ask what the reason for such a strong dependence on the Giza tradition might have been. One explanation might be the location of the tomb itself. One has to bear in mind that the Abusir – Saqqara development in the field of non-royal mortuary architecture came to a halt at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, when Giza was to the fore. Until now, we have virtually no evidence for building activity in the Abusir – Saqqara necropolis for the most part of the Fourth Dynasty. And this state of our knowledge seems to reflect the real situation here. With the end of the Fourth and the outset of the Fifth Dynasty and the rehabilitation of the Abusir – Saqqara necropolis, the tomb builders started to construct their tombs precisely where their predecessors stopped several decades before, at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty: at Abusir South, opposite the North Saqqara necropolis and the Archaic Cemetery excavated by Quibell.³⁷⁷ And, since there was no contemporary indigenous local tradition, the builders had to adapt those features and patterns that were developed at Giza during the preceding period. It seems that following the reign of Sahura, most non-royal tombs in the area were probably built at Abusir (supposedly in the area around the pyramid of Sahura and to the north and east of the pyramid of Nyuserra), a feature confirmed by an "explosion" of building activity under Nyuserra.³⁷⁸ Only later on, also during the reign of Nyuserra, the core of the Abusir–Saqqara

burial ground moves southwards, to a geomorphologically more suitable terrain to the north of the pyramid complex of Djoser.³⁷⁹

The importance of Kaaper's tomb lies mainly in the fact that his tomb is one of the first heralds of the renewed building activity in the area of Abusir and Saqqara, at the outset of the Fifth Dynasty, probably prior to Sahura and presumably not earlier than the late Fourth Dynasty (Shepseskaf). The corpulent figure of Kaaper on the north wall of his tomb only underlines art's strong dependency on the Fourth Dynasty tradition (established mainly at Giza). To this one may add also the limestone ear of a reserve head and the imported "combed ware" from the burial chamber and the whole decoration program. The date and importance of Kaaper's tomb seems to be furthermore confirmed by his titles showing that he was a man of elevated status holding a high position at the court and in the army. His title "property custodian of the king" which disappears for some time from the administration of the state at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty only corroborates this date.³⁸⁰ Beside this, Kaaper was also one of the first to hold the title "priest of Heket" and was therefore probably concerned with burial ceremonies in the necropolis.³⁸¹

Thus, it now appears that Kaaper's tomb was even more significant than the splendid work of Fischer had shown us. Thanks to his perceptive and exhaustive study, the groundwork had been laid for the later rediscovery and documentation of the tomb in 1991. Kaaper's tomb has not only recorded the initial transfer of cemeteries for the noble class within the Memphite cemetery (from Giza to Saqqara and Abusir), but has also documented the way in which the artistic repertoire (of both architecture and decoration) adapted to its new surroundings.³⁸² The tomb of Kaaper is one of the most significant tombs in the cemetery of South Abusir discovered so far.

³⁷⁶ Helck, *Beziehungen*, pp. 33–34.

³⁷⁷ For the summary see Bárta, in Bárta, Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp. 339–346.

³⁷⁸ Bárta, *Ä&L X* (2000): 45–65.

³⁷⁹ See Baud, in Berger, Matthieu, eds., *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 79–87.

³⁸⁰ This title was typical for high officials of the court down to the end of the Fourth and the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, Bárta, *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 79–89.

³⁸¹ Bárta, *JNES* 58/2 (1999): 107–116.

³⁸² On the beginning of the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasty at Abusir and Saqqara see Bárta, in Bárta, Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp. 331–346.

Chapter V:

SOME TAPHONOMIC, DEMOGRAPHIC AND PATHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE SKELETONS FROM MASTABA TOMBS AT ABUSIR SOUTH

by V. Černý and E. Strouhal

Forty-four human remains from 3 large mastabas, 18 family tombs and several "secondary" shafts of the Old Kingdom were examined in field conditions by current anthropological methods during the expedition of Czech Institute of Egyptology in February 1995. This part of the anthropological investigation of Abusir-South cemetery presents the basic description of data collection and data management applied to the sample as a whole. Our aim is not to provide here any description of individual cases, for that is part of the unpublished anthropological report submitted to the Czech Institute of Egyptology (Černý and Strouhal 1995). We would like to focus our attention only on some interesting aspects, which could provide some perspectives common both to archaeological and anthropological points of views.

1. State of preservation of the human remains

Authors who deal with human remains from archaeological excavations know that a good state of preservation regarding the bones allows one to make a more reliable anthropological examination. There are different environmental as well as cultural processes of degradation, which can greatly reduce the information value of the excavated remains. We feel that it is not enough only to state this, but we would like to raise a question concerning the extent of the absence of osteological data, and how this absence might influence our potential inferences. This might tell us something more about the ancient populations we study, and perhaps indicate if there are certain reasons causing the loss of osteological material.

In evaluating the state of preservation of the

human remains from the Abusir South mastabas, we transformed firstly our osteological observations into quantitative data, which can be statistically analysed. For this reason, we counted each part of the skeleton (for example the ribs as a whole) as being present in four categories:

- 1,00 – if all bone or approximately 3/4 of the bone was at our disposal
- 0,75 – if between 3/4 and 1/2 of the bone was at our disposal
- 0,50 – if between 1/2 and 1/4 of the bone was at our disposal
- 0,25 – if only small fragment less than 1/4 of the bone was at our disposal

Having the human skeleton divided into 94 osteological parts, we calculated the index of skeletal preservation (ISP) for each individual. If this type of reasoning is followed, the complete skeleton is characterised by the $ISP = 100$ ($94/94 \times 100$). Theoretically, if only a small fragment (less than 1/4 of the bone from all of the skeleton) is present, then the $ISP = 0,27$ ($0,25/94 \times 100$). It should be noted that this type of reasoning is possible to use only if we are assured that the excavators have taken out all the examined remains from the tombs. M. Bárta, who consistently followed the excavations of all the mastabas in the field, confirmed this condition.

Finally, we have obtained a distribution of the ISP. As displayed in figure 5.1, where we divided the values into ten categories, almost half of the individuals were situated in the first two categories, with the minimum of bones or skeletal

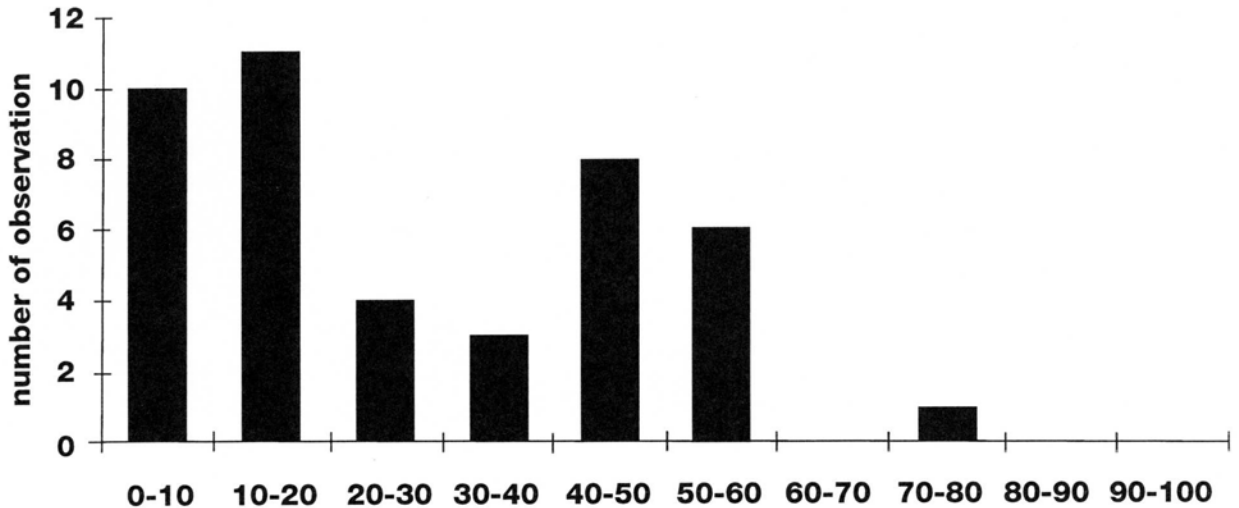


Fig. 5.1 – The distribution of the index of skeletal preservation (ISP) in the sample

parts preserved. It is interesting that this distribution is not continually descending but we can observe another peak between ISP 40–60. Unfortunately, there is only one skeleton (8/LA-5/93), which can be declared as well preserved; its ISP attains 78.2. On figure 5.1 only 43 individuals provided the data; one skeleton (18b/FF/93) is of perinatal age and we did not count the ISP for him.

Likewise, from the ISP we can formulate also the index of bone preservation (IBP) which provide the information about the presence of particular bones or skeletal parts in the sample. After sorting 94 examined skeletal elements, we can see in figure 5.2 that the distribution of this parameter has no particular advantage for any

particular bone or skeletal part. We do not present all the distinguished skeletal parts in the figure. The best-preserved skeletal elements are the right five metatarsal, frontal and parietal bones. On the other hand the worse preserved elements are right pisiforme, hyoideum and left trapesium.

Finally, we can conclude that the state of preservation of human remains from Abusir-South sample is poor. 83,7% of the individuals are represented by less than half of their skeletons. On the other hand, we can state that there are no skeletal parts, which seem to be preserved better than others. These observations probably bear upon the fact that the degradation and disintegration processes of the cadavers buried in the mastabas were relatively intensive. Moreover, the

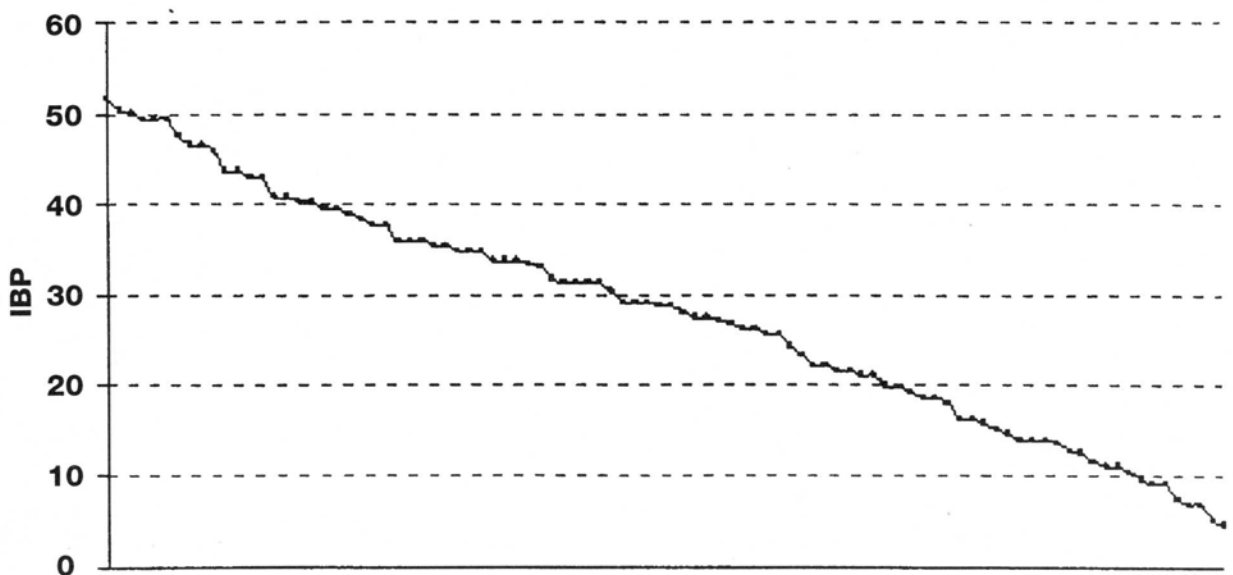


Fig. 5.2 – The distribution of the index of bone preservation (IBP) in the sample

| skeletal indication of age at death | reference | grades |
|--|------------------------|--------|
| Abrasion of molars | Smith 1984 | 1-8 |
| Obliteration of cranial sutures | Masset 1989 | 1-4 |
| Stages of pubic symphyseal metamorphosis | White 1991 (Todd 1920) | 1-10 |
| Stages of sternal extremity of the ribs | Loth and Işcan 1989 | 1-8 |
| Retraction of alveolar margin | Brothwell 1963 | 1-3 |

Table 1 - The criteria for estimation of age at death applied for sample

| sex and age categories | females | males | ? | total |
|----------------------------|---------|-------|----|-------|
| infans I 0-6 years | – | – | 3 | 3 |
| infans II 6-14 years | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| juveniles 14-20 years | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| younger adults 20-40 years | 4 | 3 | 9 | 16 |
| older adults 40-x years | 5 | 5 | 6 | 16 |
| adults 20-x years | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| total | 11 | 11 | 22 | 44 |

Table 2 - The breakdown of skeletons according to the sex and age category

burial or robbers' practices or other cultural treatments related to these human remains do not seem to have influenced the present state of preservation for the different skeletal parts.

2. Determination of sex and estimation of age at death

In the determination of sex we relied especially on the pelvic (morphological as well as metrical) traits. There is a number of papers providing information about the reliability of this part of skeleton as to the sex determination (Novotný 1986; Brůžek and Ferembach 1992; Arsuaga and Carretero 1994; Brůžek 1996). On the other hand, the non-pelvic osteological traits can rapidly evolve, their sexual dimorphism can be reduced or increased or the discrimination value can be shifted to the male or female side depending on the specific population (Henke 1977; Holland 1991; Holman and Bennett 1991; King et al. 1998). It means that the assignation of sex judging from some cranial traits or from the robustness of the post-cranial skeleton could produce, in the gracile population of Ancient Egyptians (Strouhal 1971), whose sex dimorphism of extra-pelvic traits has not yet been properly analysed, incorrectly determined individuals. This type of error can adversely seriously influence the subsequent analyses. For that matter, we would like to note that the

major problem of anthropological examination of human remains is in general to decide if we will pay attention either to the accuracy or to the reliability of the applied methods.

As to the age estimation of non-adult skeletons, the current anthropological methods regarding the state of dental eruptions or dimensions of diaphysis have been applied (Ubelaker 1989). For cases in which there was a much more difficult estimation of age at death of adult skeletons, we applied (where possible) the different techniques with the grades of the ageing process – as referred to in table 1. Without the possibility of more detailed laboratory examination, including cortical bone histology (Stout et al. 1994; Stout and Lueck 1995; Stout et al. 1996), radiographic analysis of the spongy structure (Szilvassy and Kritscher 1990), or methods by which we analyse age-related changes in dental tissue (Kilian and Vlček 1989), it is very difficult to divide the adult skeletons into more than two age groups.

The sex in the Abusir South sample was determined according to the pelvic traits in 22 (50%) from 44 examined individuals (table 2). There are 11 females and 11 males. As to 22 remaining undetermined skeletons, four are children, whose sex determination is not possible by simple morphological methods, and the rest of the sample

contains skeletons in a rather bad state of preservation and/or without any important sexually diagnostic traits in the pelvic bones.

As indicated in table 2, we finally divided the sample into six age categories. Three non-adult groups contain six skeletons: 3 children aged under 6 years, one child between 6–14 years, and 2 juveniles, whose age is situated between 14–20 years. The almost adult age and the presence of sexually diagnostic traits in the pelvic remains provided the reason for the attribution of sex to these juvenile individuals – one male and one female. Three adult age categories contain 38 skeletons. There are 16 young adults under 40 years, 16 older adults more than 40 and 6 skeletons, generally adults, whose poor state of preservation did not permit a more precise age estimation. As noted at the beginning, the sample contains 44 individuals.

ried out. For technical reasons it was not possible to undertake radiological analysis. All the pathological alterations are included in table 4.

As to the types of trauma, we identified fractures of long bones and ribs, impressions of cranial vault and compression of vertebral bodies. We attributed to this last category also, the periostitic bone formation on the internal surface of the occipital bone of adult individual no. 18 buried in shaft 11/FF/93. The lesion was probably the consequence of a subdural haematoma developed after a cranial injury. Summing up, we recorded 15 traumas distributed in all of the tombs. Slightly more frequent occurrence of traumas were found in the shafts close to the mastaba of Kaaper; there were fewer occurrences of them in the mastaba of Gegi.

As to infectious diseases, there were only four osteomyelitic or periostitic cases, two of them, as

| Categories of pathological alterations | abbreviation |
|---|--------------|
| Trauma | TRA |
| Infectious diseases | INF |
| Degenerative lesions of the joints | DEG |
| Diseases of the jaws and teeth | JAW |
| Tumours | TUM |
| Skeletal malformations | MAL |
| Endocrine and metabolic disorders | END |
| Pathological alterations of unknown aetiology | UNK |

Table 3 - Eight categories of pathological alterations identified in the sample

3. Pathological alterations

The pathological alterations on the Abusir South skeletons have been scored according to the system introduced by Ortner and Putschar (1984). Finally, only eight categories were identified (table 3). Some of the observed alterations could have been provoked by a primary trauma which led to another pathological category – as for example, infectious diseases of the temporomandibular joint of a younger male 1/CC/91 buried in the mastaba of Hetepi. In other cases, there is no doubt about the primary causes of the lesion (such as a fracture of the right femur, complicated by osteomyelitis in the younger adult female skeleton 2a/DD/91). Again, the same situation occurs in the individual 14/LA–5/93), where we attributed the alteration both to the traumatic and infectious diseases categories. It should be noted that only macroscopic examination was car-

has been stated in the previous paragraph, were associated with a fracture. A more frequent problem for the examined individuals was the problem of degenerative lesions of the joints. We class in this category different arthropathies and spondylopathies, which produced even immobility of joints in the older adult male no 33 (9/LA–5/93), where the second and third cervical vertebra are fused. We identified also seven cases of diseases of the jaws and teeth – such as abnormal retraction of the alveolar margin, different perforations of the alveolar margin, crowding of teeth etc. Even if the different kinds of tumours were relatively frequent in ancient Egyptians (Strouhal 1976, 1978; Strouhal and Vyhnanek 1981), they are represented in our sample only by three cases of benign osteomas.

As to skeletal malformation, we recorded only one case, which was the simple sacralisation of the fifth lumbar vertebra in no 3 (17a/AA/91). Endocrine and metabolic disorders are represen-

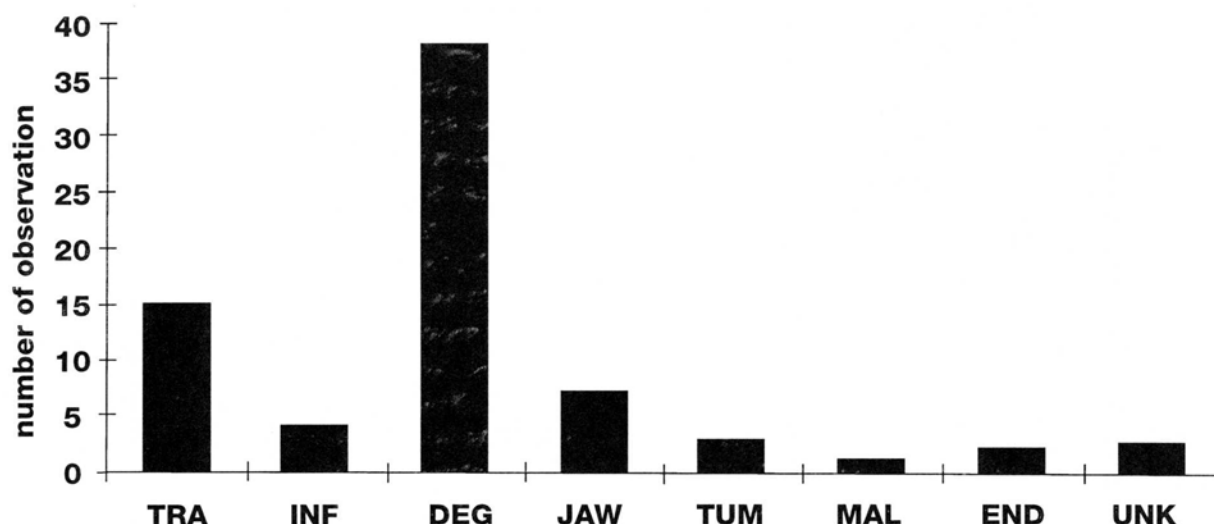


Fig. 5.3 – The distribution of categories of pathological alterations in the sample

ted by two cases of hyperostotic frontal bone formation in the adult skeleton no 18 (11/FF/93) and osteoporotic bones of the older female skeleton no 39 (15/LA-5/93). The pathological alterations of unknown aetiology are represented by multiple small lesions found in the orbital roofs cribra orbitalia. They consist of minuscule traces in the younger adult female skeleton no 11 (3/CC/91), and well-developed lesions in the 5–6 years old child skeleton no 27 (20/FF/93). As the third, and last, pathological alteration of unknown aetiology we identified symmetrical thinning of parietal bones *depressio biparietalis circumscripta* in the older adult skeleton no 37 (13/LA-5/93).

As a whole, we can summarise that 65,9% of the individuals show at least one of the pathological alterations. In total, we observed 73 pathological changes in 29 skeletons, 15 individuals being without any indication of abnormal formation of bone tissue. In nine skeletons we detected only one pathological alteration. Ten skeletons were affected by two pathological alterations, five skeletons by the three, one by four, one by five, one by six and two skeletons were affected by as many as seven pathological alterations (no 33 – 9/LA-5/93 and no 42 – 2/LA-6/93). As we can observe from figure 3, the most frequent pathological changes are the degenerative lesions of the joints, which are present in more than half of the pathological alterations in the sample. The second most frequent category is trauma, which together with the degenerative lesions of the joints cover 72,6% of all pathological disorders. Other pathological changes are of rather rare occurrence.

4. Some anthropological relations

One of the questions is if the state of preservation or the presence of pathological alternations depends on demographic factors. For example, we can raise the hypothesis that the state of preservation of bones among the older adults can be worse than that of younger individuals because of the general degradation of skeletal tissue during the life history of the individual. The process is critical in modern European populations, particularly in females after menopause when osteoporosis can even seriously affect the quality of life (Slemenda et al. 1996) and, in an archaeological context, bone preservation (Fraser 1997).

To test this hypothesis in the Abusir South skeletal sample, we have at our disposal two age categories (younger adults and older adults) and two sex determinations (females and males). Undertaking the parametrical as well as non-parametrical t-tests, we have not detected any statistically significant difference in the ISP between the two analysed groups. As can be seen from figure 5.4, the state of preservation of older adults or females is, on average, even better than that of younger adults or males. However, these differences are not (as has been noted) statistically significant if we consider the p-level of 5%. Unfortunately, the numerically small sample from Abusir South does not permit us to investigate the groups of specific sex and age categories at the same time. Nevertheless, we can conclude that, on the average, the state of preservation of young adult females (ISP=40,3) as well as older adult females (ISP=43,4) is better than that of males

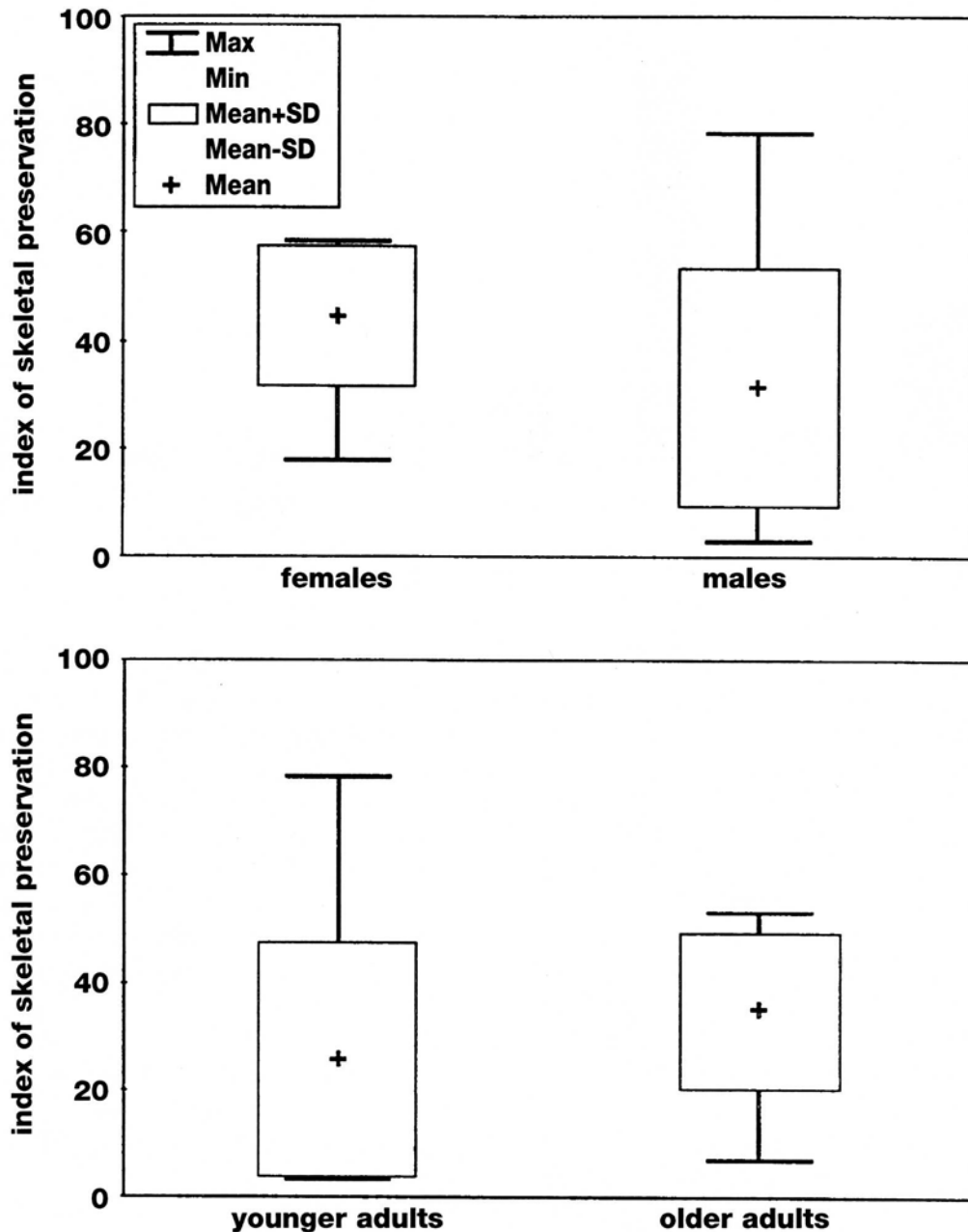


Fig. 5.4 – The box whiskers of the index of skeletal preservation of different demographic categories

(ISP=32,5 four younger and 34,2 for older, respectively).

5. Conclusion

The poor state of preservation of the skeletons is very probably the consequence of a natural disintegration process; subsequent robbery practices did not influence the preservation of some specific skeletal part. In other words, it can be suggested that the activity of the tomb robbers was not directed to the damage of specific body or skeletal parts. Modern European health problems, such as osteoporosis, did not influence the state of preser-

vation of human remains buried in the Abusir South cemetery. Unfortunately, the small number of skeletons, which has been excavated so far does not permit for the instant the construction of life tables. It is not excluded that, in future, the number of human remains from the tombs at the necropolis will increase and that this type of anthropological research will provide new information about the population of this historically important part of Nile valley. Nevertheless, if we consider that the examined tombs regroup at last twenty one families of ancient Egyptians, approximately 14% of the subadult individuals detected

Some taphonomic, demographic and pathological aspects of the skeletons from
mastaba tombs at Abusir South

| no | skeleton | mastaba | sex | age | ISP | TRA | INF | DEG | JAW | TUM | MAL | END | UNK | total |
|----|-------------|---------|-----|--------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 1 | 15/AA/91 | Kaaper | ? | y adu | 15,35 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 2 | 16/AA/91 | " | F | y adu | 32,42 | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 3 | 17a/AA/91 | " | ? | o adu | 46,75 | 2 | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | | 6 |
| 4 | 17b/AA/91 | " | F | o adu | 45,36 | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| 5 | 18/AA/91 | " | F | o adu | 53,17 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 4 |
| 6 | 24/AA/91 | " | ? | y adu | 17,64 | | | 2 | | | | | | 2 |
| 7 | 3/BB/91 | Fetekty | ? | y adu | 4,84 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 8 | 5/BB/91 | " | ? | o adu | 17,34 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 3 |
| 9 | 1/CC/91 | Hetepi | M | y adu | 8,31 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 |
| 10 | 2/CC/91 | " | ? | y adu | 27,91 | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 11 | 3/CC/91 | " | F | y adu | 58,14 | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 2 |
| 12 | 2a/DD/91 | Rahotep | F | y adu | 17,54 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 3 |
| 13 | 2b/DD/91 | " | ? | y adu | 6,65 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 14 | 10/EE/93 | Ity | M | y adu | 11,05 | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| 15 | 2/FF/93 | Gegi | ? | adu | 6,00 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 16 | 7/FF/93 | " | M | o adu | 25,64 | | | 5 | | | | | | 5 |
| 17 | 10/FF/93 | " | F | o adu | 39,01 | | | 2 | | 1 | | | | 3 |
| 18 | 11/FF/93 | " | ? | adu | 9,59 | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 3 |
| 19 | 12/FF/93 | " | F | adu | 58,31 | | | 2 | | | | | | 2 |
| 20 | 13/FF/93 | " | ? | o adu | 39,02 | | | 2 | | | | | | 2 |
| 21 | 14/FF/93 | " | ? | inf II | 18,35 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 22 | 15/FF/93 | " | ? | o adu | 6,90 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 23 | 17/FF/93 | " | ? | adu | 5,21 | | | 2 | | | | | | 2 |
| 24 | 18a/FF/93 | " | F | y adu | 53,11 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 25 | 18b/FF/93 | " | ? | inf I | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 26 | 19/FF/93 | " | M | Juv | 42,90 | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| 27 | 20/FF/93 | " | ? | inf I | 12,50 | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 28 | 21/FF/93 | " | M | o adu | 47,16 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 29 | 6/LA-5/93 | LA-5 | ? | o adu | 15,69 | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| 30 | 7/LA-5/93 | " | ? | y adu | 46,93 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 31 | 8/LA-5/93 | " | M | y adu | 78,20 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| 32 | 9/LA-5/93 | " | M | o adu | 44,99 | 1 | | 6 | | | | | | 7 |
| 33 | 11/LA-5/93 | " | F | o adu | 50,96 | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| 34 | 12a/LA-5/93 | " | M | adu | 29,46 | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| 35 | 12b/LA-5/93 | " | ? | y adu | 3,03 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 36 | 13/LA-5/93 | " | ? | o adu | 40,75 | 1 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 3 |
| 37 | 14/LA-5/93 | " | ? | y adu | 12,71 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 2 |
| 38 | 15/LA-5/93 | " | F | o adu | 28,66 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 2 |
| 39 | 16/LA-5/93 | " | ? | y adu | 13,88 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 40 | 1/LA-6/93 | LA-6 | F | Juv | 51,58 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 41 | 2/LA-6/93 | " | M | o adu | 40,76 | 2 | | 5 | | | | | | 7 |
| 42 | 3/LA-6/93 | " | ? | inf I | 4,18 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 43 | 4/LA-6/93 | " | M | o adu | 12,55 | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| 44 | 5/LA-6/93 | " | M | adu | 2,75 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |

Table 4 - The breakdown of the sample according to the mastabas. Explications: sex (F = female, M = male); age (inf I = infans I, child 0-6 years, inf II = infans II, child 6-14 years, juv = juvenile, 14-20 years, y adu = younger adult, 20-40 years, o adu = older adults, 40-x years, adu = adult of non-estimable age category); ISP (index of skeletal preservation) TRA; INF; DEG; JAW; TUM; MAL; END; and UNK (abbreviations of the categories of pathological alterations see table 3)

within seem to be rather low, compared either to the ancient Egyptians (Masali and Chiarelli 1973) or ancient Nubians (Green et al. 1974; Van Gerven et al. 1981; Strouhal 1988) or ancient populations from Southwest Asia (Rathbun 1982; Kunter 1984). It is difficult to admit that even the high social ranks of the owners of the mastabas could explain away the low mortality profile of their buried children. However, this observation does not exclude the assumption that here we are dealing with families whose children were buried elsewhere.

The paleopathological examination of the skeletons correspond with the expected health status of the lower ranking officials from the Old Kingdom buried in the excavated mastabas at Abusir South necropolis. Degenerative lesions of the joints are unequivocally the most frequent pathological changes. However, their occurrence is restricted mainly to older adults – thus corresponding to the normal ageing process. More surprising is the occurrence of different traumatic conditions, which attained a total 27%. We have not any suggestions for this rather high frequency. We identified also two cases of cribra orbitalia, the condition relatively frequent in past populations, probably corresponding to chronic iron deficiency anaemia, caused by parasitic infection, a diet poor in iron and diarrhoea in general (Carlson et al. 1974; Sandford et al. 1983). The healing potential of cribra orbitalia causes manifestations of this nutritional stress only in immature skeletal remains. In some populations, such as those of Medieval Kolubnarti in Upper Nubia, it affected as much as 76% of children between the ages of 4 and 6 (Mittler and Van Gerven 1994).

As has been stated before, the skeletal sample from Abusir South cemetery is relatively small, with no exceptional state of preservation. But we can conclude that, owing to its interesting archaeological context (Old Kingdom family tombs), it could provide very important evidence about the social history of ancient Egyptians in the third millennium BC. This first and rather basic examination concerning some taphonomic, demographic and pathologic aspects should be continued in the future by a more thoughtful analysis of kinship relationships among the owners of the tombs. This task can be accomplished on the morphological (epigenetic traits) as well as directly on the genetic (ancient DNA) levels. It must be noted that the second type of analysis is much more reliable but is also more difficult to carry

out on material of such ancient date having such a bad state of preservation. Nevertheless, some recently developed new techniques of molecular genetics provide very sensitive tools, which can be applied even to highly degraded bones (Yang et al. 1998; Hoff-Olsen et al. 1999; Pusch et al. 2000).

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








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
































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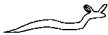
























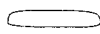
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








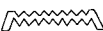
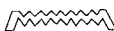
































compiled by P. Vlčková

| Hieroglyphica | Rahotep | Izeziseneb | Gegi | Kaaper | Kaaper/Saqqara |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| A 1 | | | |  | |
| A 12 | | | |  | |
| A 17 | | | |  | |
| A 20 | |  |  |  |  |
| A 40 | | |  | | |
| A 48 | | | |  | |
| D 1 | | | |  | |
| D 2 |  |  | |  | |
| D 4 | | |  |  | |
| D 21 |  |  |  |  |  |
| D 28 | | | |  | |
| D 32 |  | | | | |
| D 35 | | | |  | |
| D 36 |  | | |  |  |



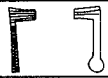

















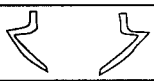

















| Hieroglyphica | Rahotep | Izeziseneb | Gegi | Kaaper | Kaaper/Saqqara |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| D 38 | | | |  | |
| D 45 | | | |  | |
| D 46 |  | | |  | |
| D 58 | |  | |  | |
| E 1 | | | |  | |
| E 15 | |  | |  |  |
| E 17 | |  | |  |  |
| E 34 | | | |  | |
| F 1 | | | |  | |
| F 4 | | | |  | |
| F 13 | | | |  | |
| F 28 | | | |  | |
| F 32 | | | |  | |
| F 34 | | | |  | |
| F 35 |  |  |  |  | |
| F 39 | |  |   |  | |
| G 1 | | | |   | |
| G 5 |  | | | | |
| G 7 |  | | | | |
| G 14 | | | |  | |
| G 17 |  |  | |   |  |
| G 36 | |  | |  | |
| G 39 | | |  | | |
































Appendix

| Hieroglyphica | Rahotep | Izeziseneb | Gegi | Kaaper | Kaaper/Saqqara |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| G 40 | | | |  | |
| G 43 |  | |  |  | |
| G 47 | | | |  | |
| G 130 | | | |  |  |
| G 131 | | | |  | |
| G 191 | | | |  | |
| H 1 | | | |  | |
| I 7 + V 30 | | | |  | |
| I 9 |  |  | |  |  |
| I 10 | | | |  | |
| I 13 |  | | | | |
| K3 | | | |  |  |
| M 4 | | |  |  | |
| M 12 | | |  |  | |
| M 13 |  | | | | |
| M 16 |  | | | | |
| M 17 |  |  |  |  | |
| M 22 | |  | |  | |
| M 23 |  | | |  |  |
| M 26 | | | |  | |
| N 5 | |  | | | |
| N 11 + N 14 | | | |  | |
| N 17 | | | |  | |

| Hieroglyphica | Rahotep | Izeziseneb | Gegi | Kaaper | Kaaper/Saqqara |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| N 22 |  | | | | |
| N 25 | |  |  |  | |
| N 29 | |  | |  |  |
| N 31 | | | |  | |
| N 35 |  |  | |  |  |
| N 36 | | | |  | |
| N 37 |  |  |  | | |
| N 39 | | | |  | |
| O 1 | | | |  | |
| O 4 | | | |  | |
| O 6 + S 34 |  | | | | |
| O 21 | |  | |  |  |
| O 22 | | | |  | |
| O 24 | |  | | | |
| O 29 | |  | |  |  |
| O 34 | |  | | | |
| O 48 | |  | | | |
| O 84 |  | | | | |
| P 8 | | | |  | |
| Q 1 | |  |  | | |
| Q 3 |  | | | |  |
| Q 6 | |  | |  |  |
| R 4 |  |  | |  |  |

Appendix

| Hieroglyphica | Rahotep | Izeziseneb | Gegi | Kaaper | Kaaper/Saqqara |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| R 8 |  |  | |  |  |
| R 13 | |  | |  | |
| R 15 | | | |  | |
| R 22 | | | |  | |
| R 33 | | | |  | |
| S 29 |  |  | |  |  |
| S 42 |  | | | | |
| S 43 |  | | | | |
| T 3 | | | |  | |
| T 8 | | | |  | |
| T 20 | |  | |  |  |
| U 1 | | |  |  | |
| U 6 | |  | |  | |
| U 30 |  | | |  | |
| U 36 |  | | |  | |
| V 4 | | | |  | |
| V 6 | | | |  | |
| V 13 | | | |  | |
| V 24 | | | |  | |
| V 28 | | | |  | |
| V 30 | |  | |  | |
| V 31 | | | |  |  |
| W 3 | | | |  | |

| Hieroglyphica | Rahotep | Izeziseneb | Gegi | Kaaper | Kaaper/Saqqara |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| W 10 | | | |  | |
| W 11 | | |  | | |
| W 12 | | | |  | |
| W 17 + W 18 |  |  | |  |  |
| W 23 | | | |  | |
| W 24 |  | | |  | |
| X 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| X 3 A | | | |  | |
| X 8 | |  | |  |  |
| Y 2 |  | | |  | |
| Y 4 | | | |  | |
| Aa 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aa 17 | | | |  | |
| Aa 20 | | | |  |  |
| Aa 25 |  | | | | |

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shd htm(w) – 37, 90, 119, 121;
shd zš(w) (n) z3b – 175, 176, 179, 181;
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zš pr(w)-nfr(w) – 61;
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zš pr-md3t – 175, 176, 179;
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Pl. Ib – General view of the area of Abusir South, looking west



Pl. IIa – View of the tomb of Ity from the southeast



Pl. IIb – View of the tomb of Ity from the east



Pl. IIIa – View of the tomb of Ity from the south



Pl. IIIb – Eastern facade of the tomb, looking south



Pl. IVa – Cruciform chapel with the magazine, view from the east



Pl. IVb – Western wall of the chapel



Pl. Va – Excav. No. 3/EE/93



Pl. Vb – Excav. No. 3/EE/93, detail



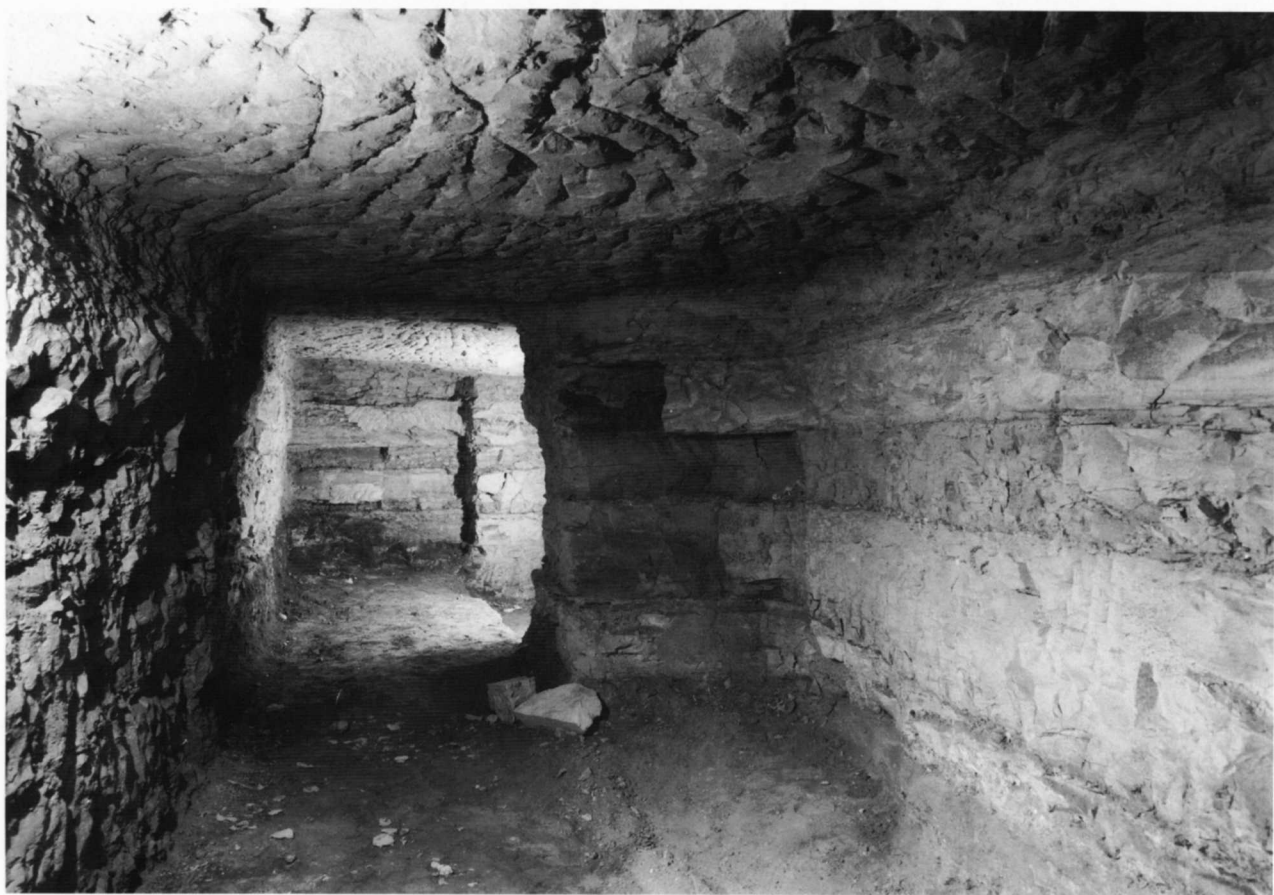
Pl. VIa – Entrance into the northern substructure, looking south



Pl. VIb – Northern substructure, upper corridor



Pl. VIIa – Blocking stone at the entrance into the southern substructure



Pl. VIIb – Passage leading into the burial chamber, looking southwest



Pl. VIIIa – Detail of the burial chamber, looking southwest



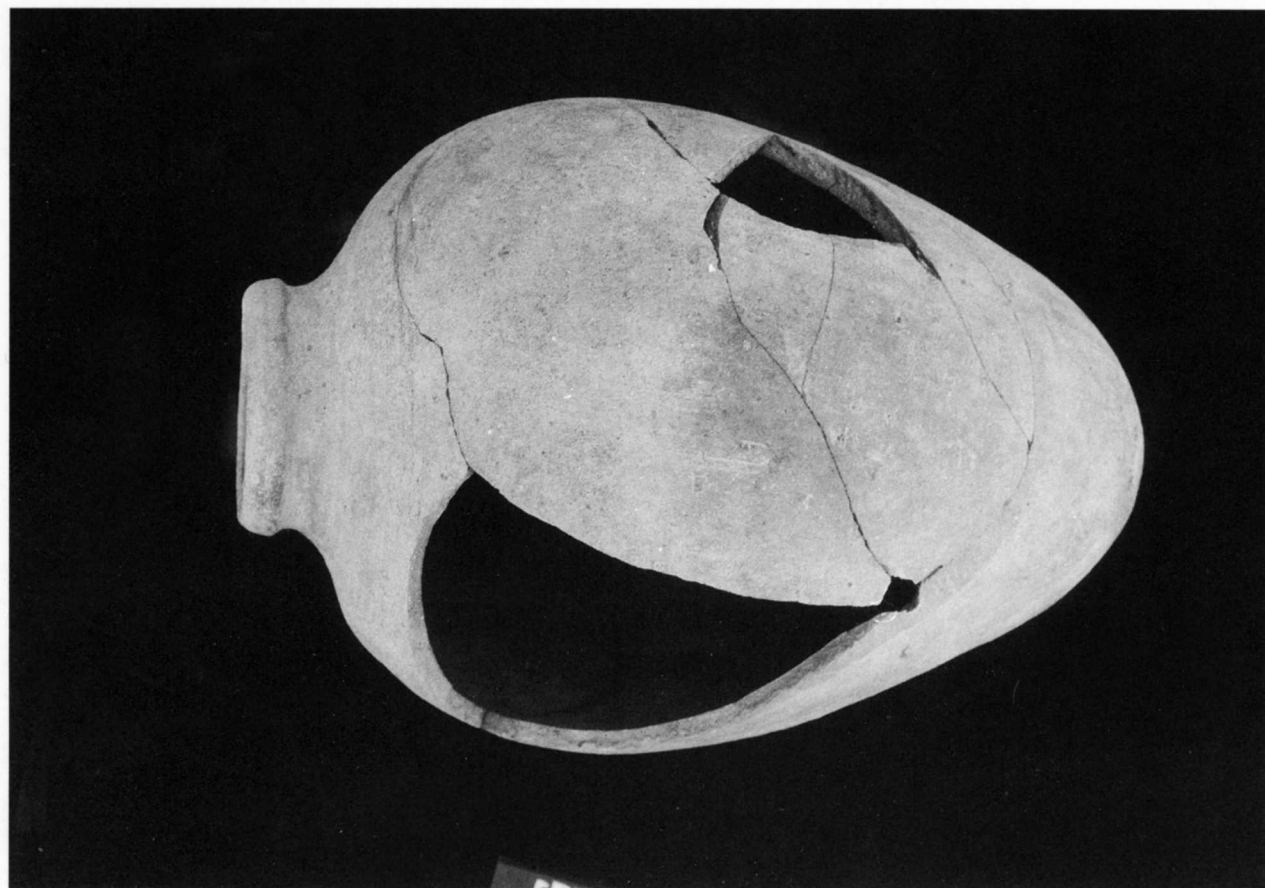
Pl. VIIIb – Detail of the worked rock surface in the burial chamber



Pl. VIIIc – Excav. No. 1/EE/93



Pl. IXa – Excav. No. 13/EE/93



Pl. IXb – Excav. No. 14/EE/93



Pl. Xa - View of the area excavated by Borchardt at the Lake of Abusir, view from the east - in the top right corner pyramid of Neferirkara (after Borchardt, *Sahure I*, p. 148, fig. 193)



Pl. Xb - View of the area excavated by Borchardt at the Lake of Abusir, view from the southwest (after Borchardt, *Sahure I*, p. 148, fig. 194)



Pl. XIa - View of the excavation area at the Lake of Abusir in 1993, from the northwest with the North Saqqara necropolis and the pyramids of Teti and Djoser in background



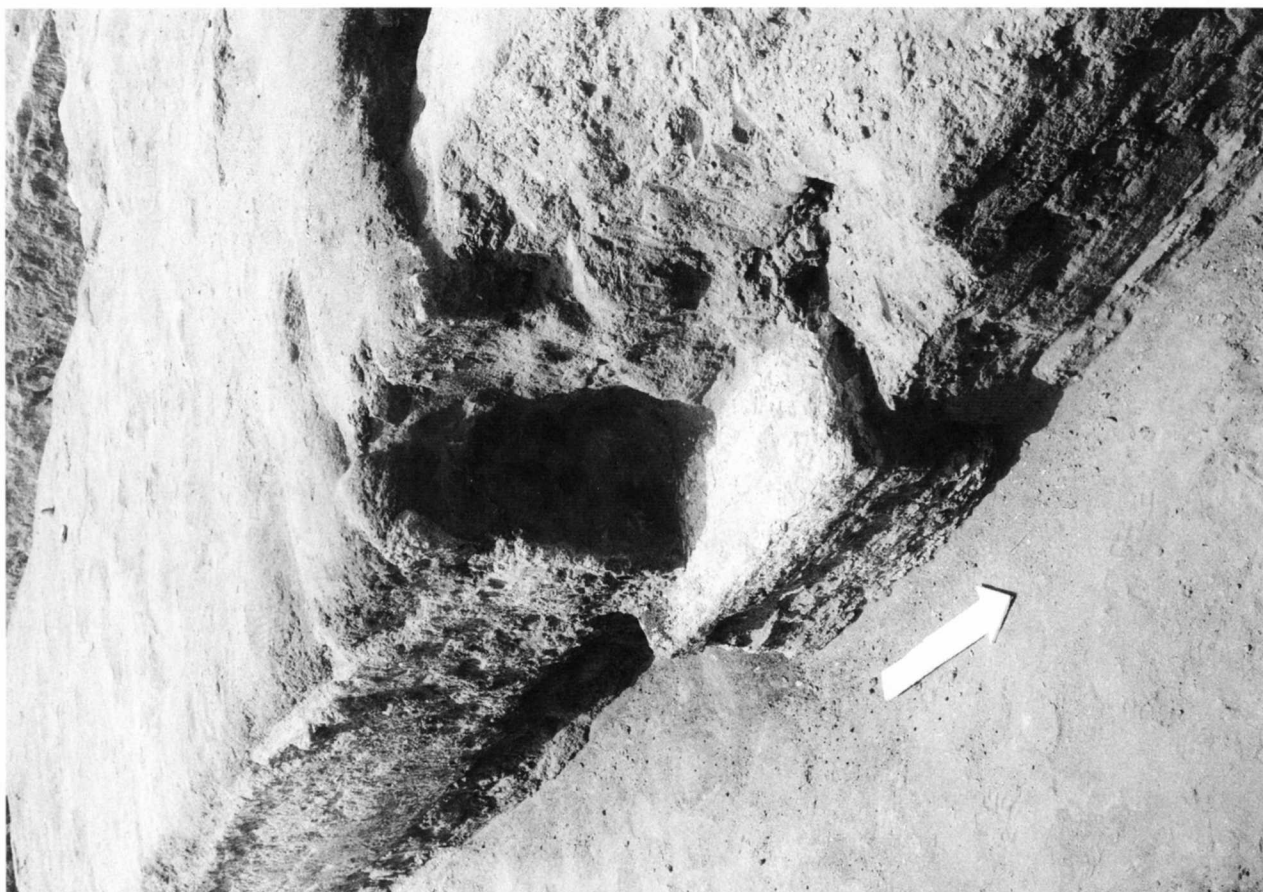
Pl. XIb - Excavated tombs at the Lake of Abusir, looking south



Pl. XIIa - View of the Lake of Abusir tombs looking north; Tomb 1 in the centre, at its southwest corner LA - Tomb 2 (Tomb of Sheddu) and LA - Tomb 3 (from left to right)



Pl. XIIb - Entrance into LA - Tomb 1, view from the east; in the foreground Tomb 4



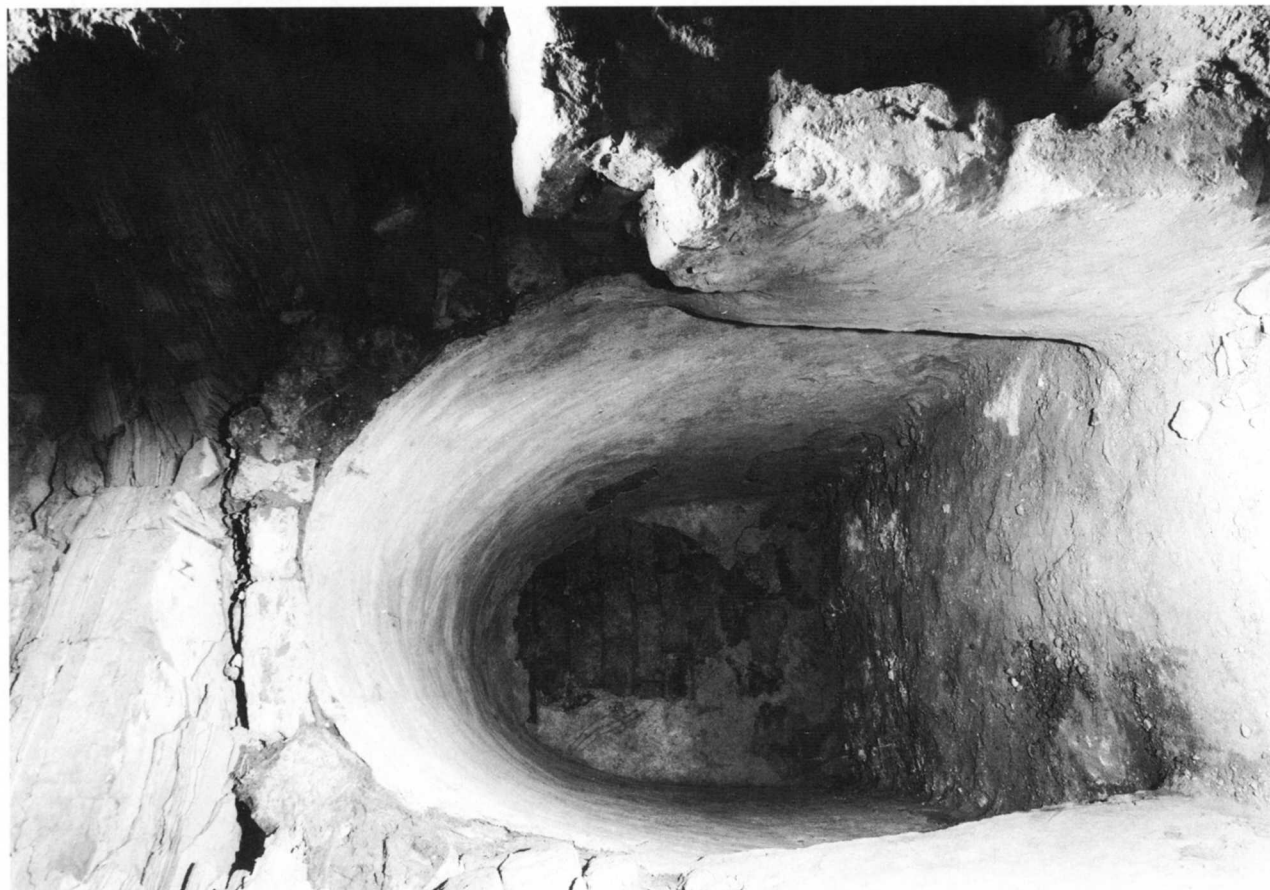
Pl. XIIIa - Northeastern corner of LA - Tomb 1 that was originally strengthened by a limestone pillar



Pl. XIIIb - Chapel of LA - Tomb 1 looking west



Pl. XIVa - View of the entrance into the burial chamber of LA - Tomb 1 looking north



Pl. XIVb - LA - Tomb 1 - burial chamber



Pl. XVa - Chapel of LA - Tomb 2 (Shedu)



Pl. XVb - Offering table of Sheddu, Excav. No. 1/LA-5/93



Pl. XVIa - Remains of wooden statues from LA - Tomb 2, Excav. No. 6/LA-5/93a, b



Pl. XVIb - Statues of Shedub and his family as found in chapel of LA - Tomb 2, *in situ*



Pl. XVIIa - Statue of Shedub, Excav. No. 2a/LA-5/93



Pl. XVIIb - Statue of Shedub, detail. Excav. No. 2a/LA-5/93



Pl. XVIIIa - Statue of the wife of Shedu, Excav. No. 2b/LA-5/93



Pl. XVIIIb - Statue of the wife of Shedu, detail. Excav. No. 2b/LA-5/93



Pl. XIXa - Statue of the son (?) of Shedû, Excav. No. 2c/LA-5/93



Pl. XIXb - Statue of the son (?) of Shedû, detail. Excav. No. 2c/LA-5/93



Pl. XXa - Statue base of the son (?) of Shedû, Excav. No. 2c/LA-5/93



Pl. XXb - LA - Tomb 2, burial of a dog



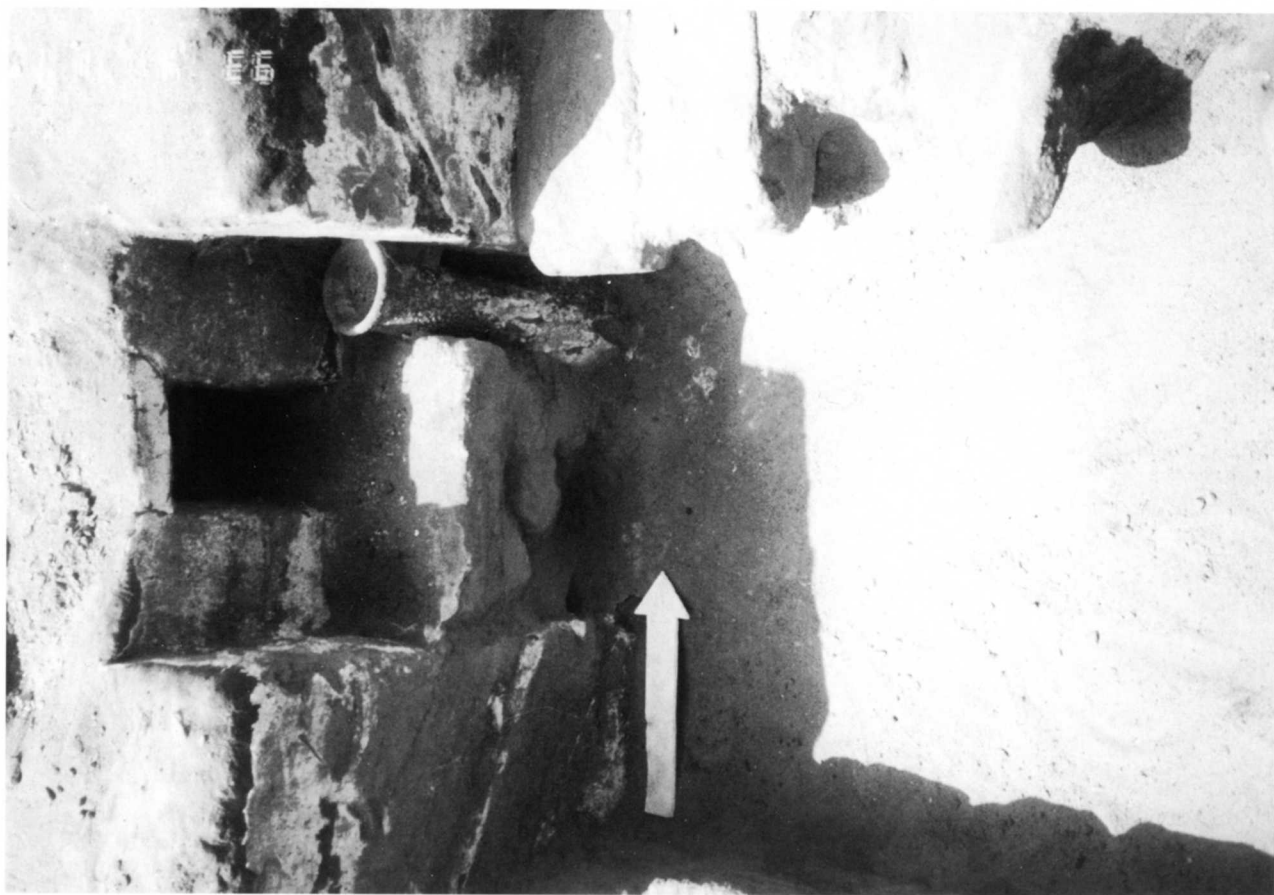
Pl. XXIa - LA Tomb 2, burial 9/LA-5/93



Pl. XXIb - LA - Tomb 3, original appearance of the chapel



Pl. XXIIa - LA - Tomb 3, the second stage of the chapel



Pl. XXIIb - LA - Tomb 3, the second stage of the chapel, detail of the southern niche



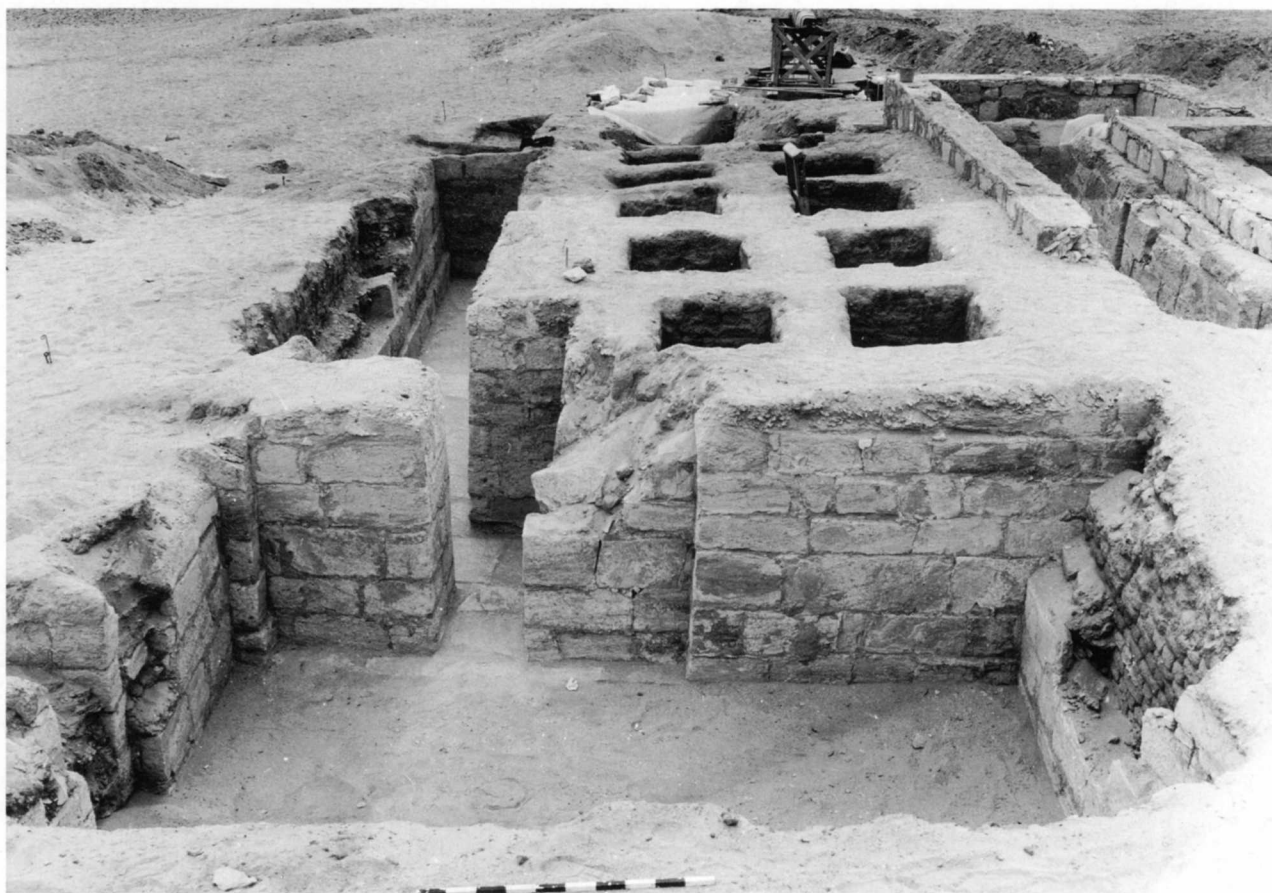
Pl. XXIIIa - LA - Tomb 3, the third stage of the chapel with a flight of steps from the south



Pl. XXIIIb - LA - Tomb 6, false door



Pl. XXIVa – View of the court of Hetepi, looking west



Pl. XXIVb – Entrance into the corridor chapel of Hetepi, looking south



Pl. XXVa – Corridor chapel in the tomb of Hetepi, looking south



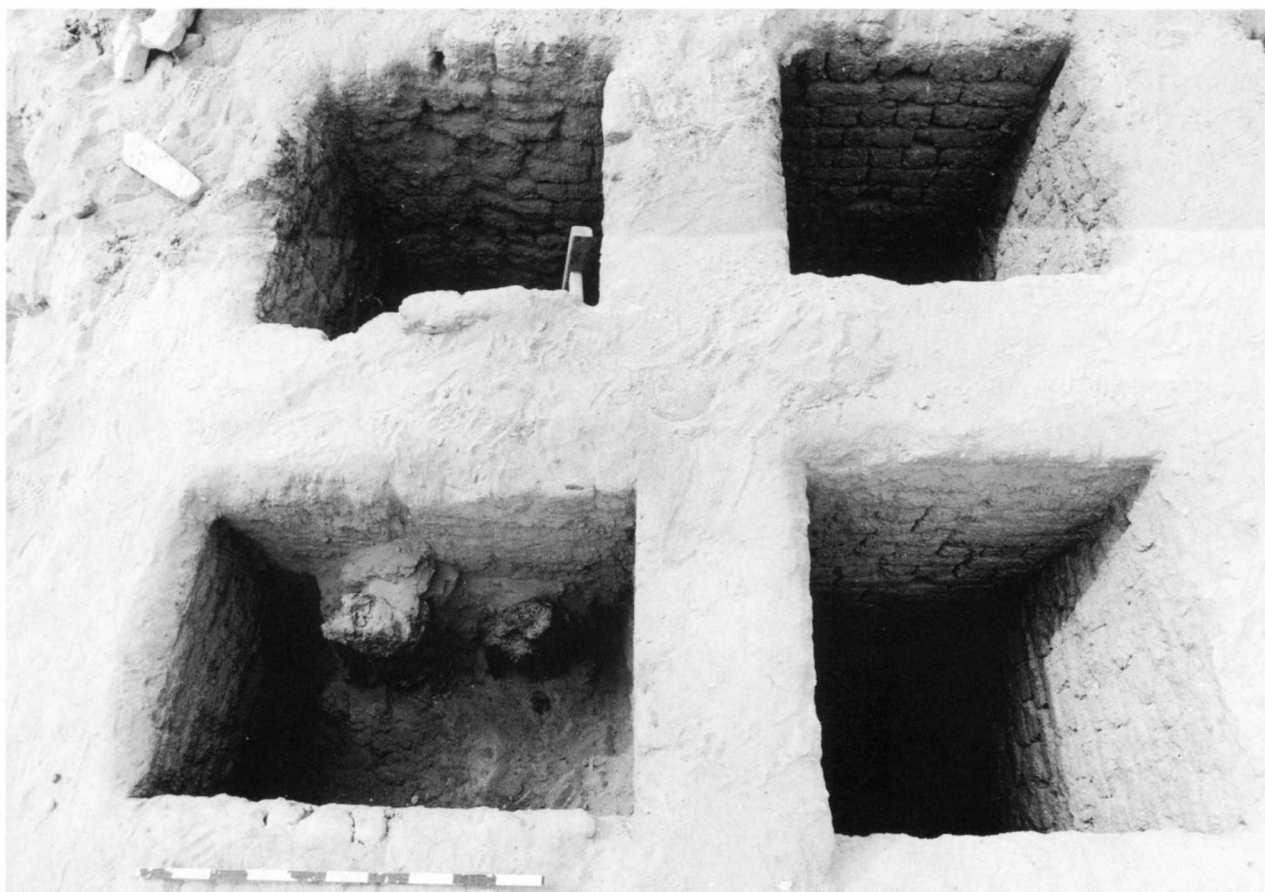
Pl. XXVb – Western wall of the chapel of Hetepi, southern part



Pl. XXVIa – Western wall of the chapel of Hetepi, northern part



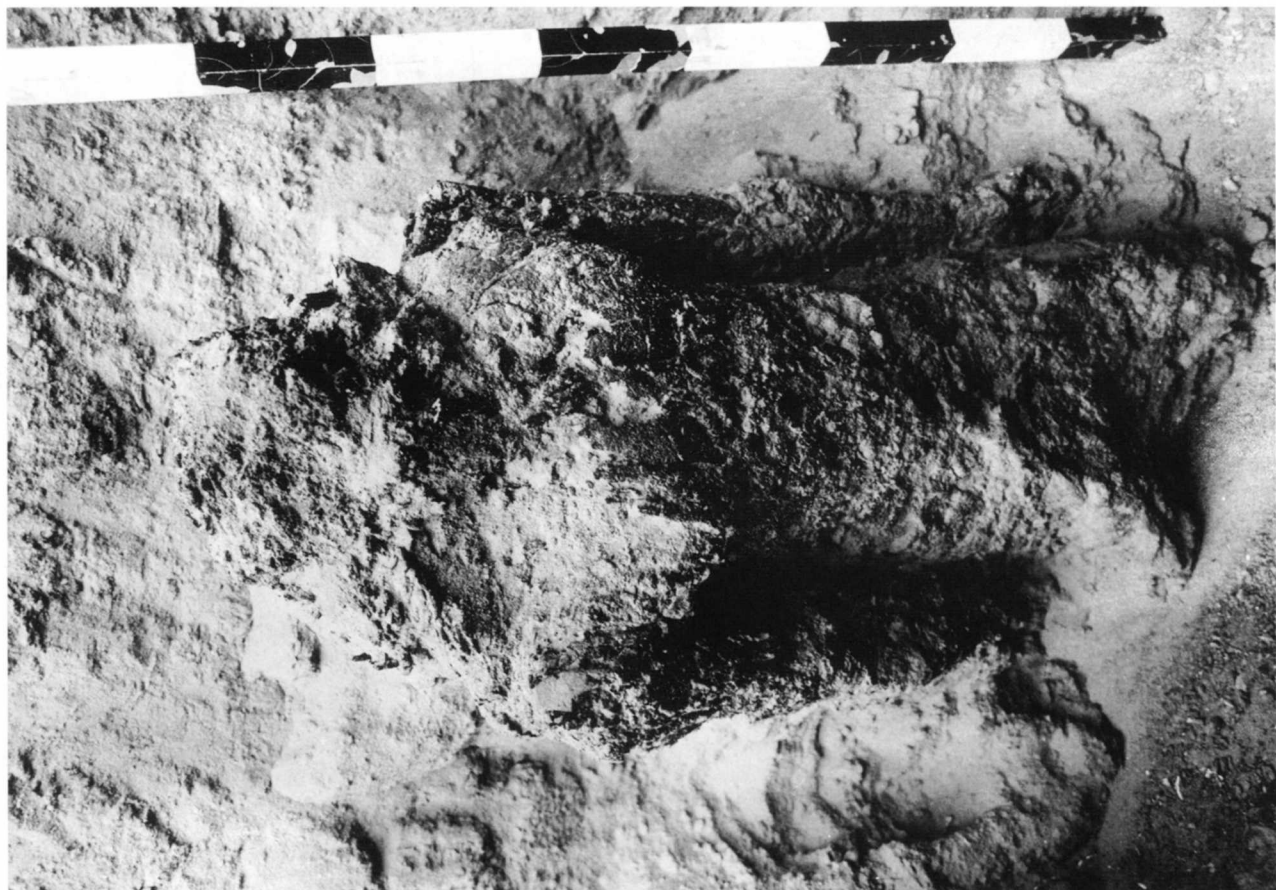
Pl. XXVIb – Northern false door in the chapel of Hetepi



Pl. XXVIIa – Tomb of Hetepi, shafts 1-2, 6-7



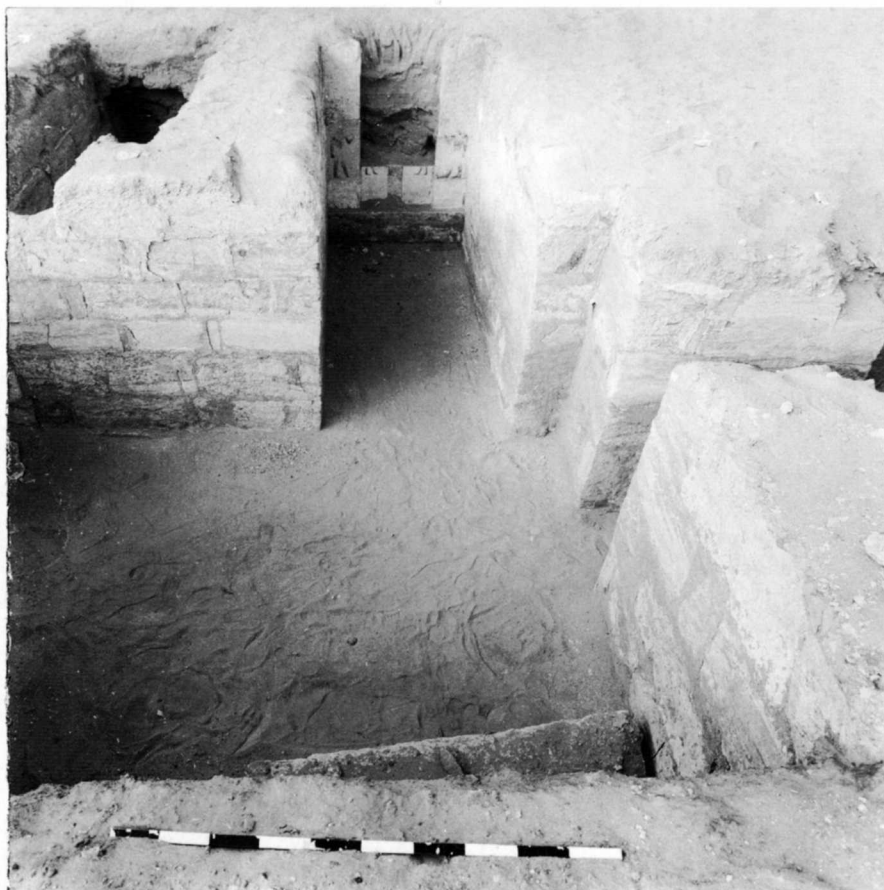
Pl. XXVIIb – Tomb of Hetepi, Shaft 6 – serdab with wooden statues



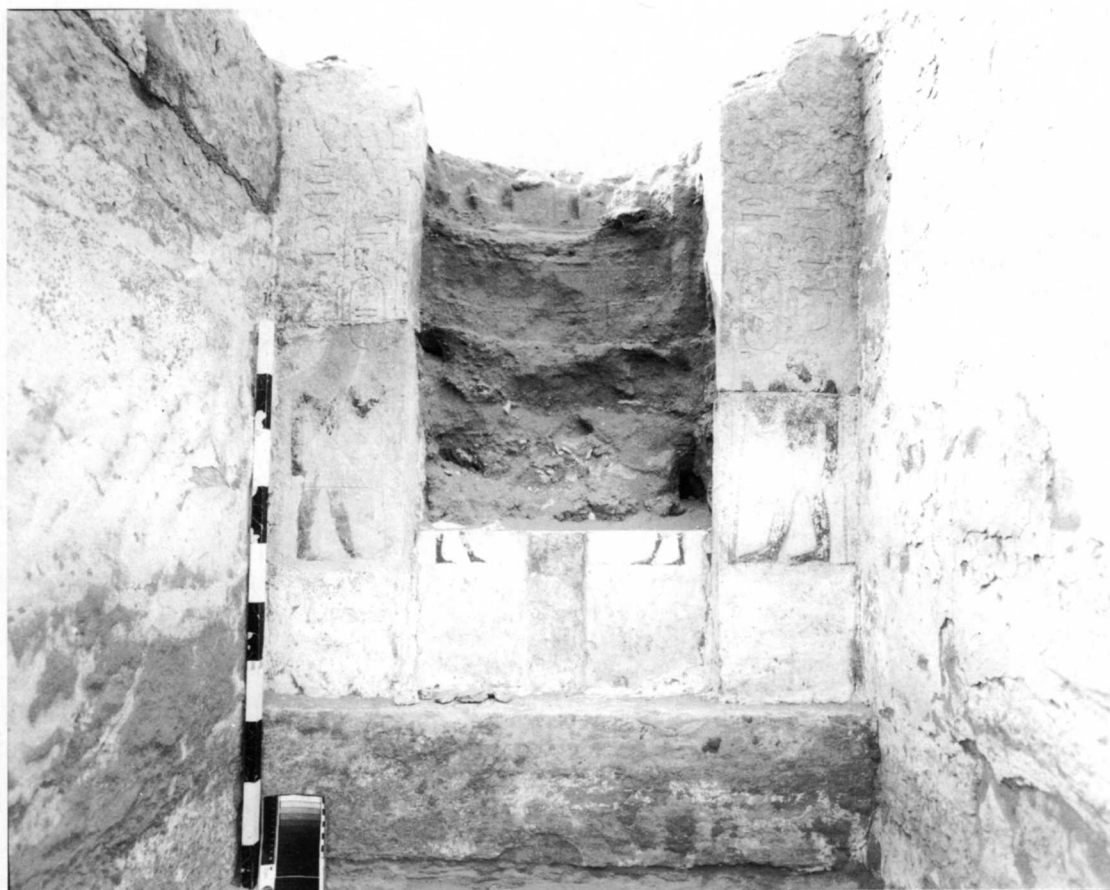
Pl. XXVIIIa – Tomb of Hetepi, Shaft 6 – serdab with wooden statues, detail of the decayed male statue



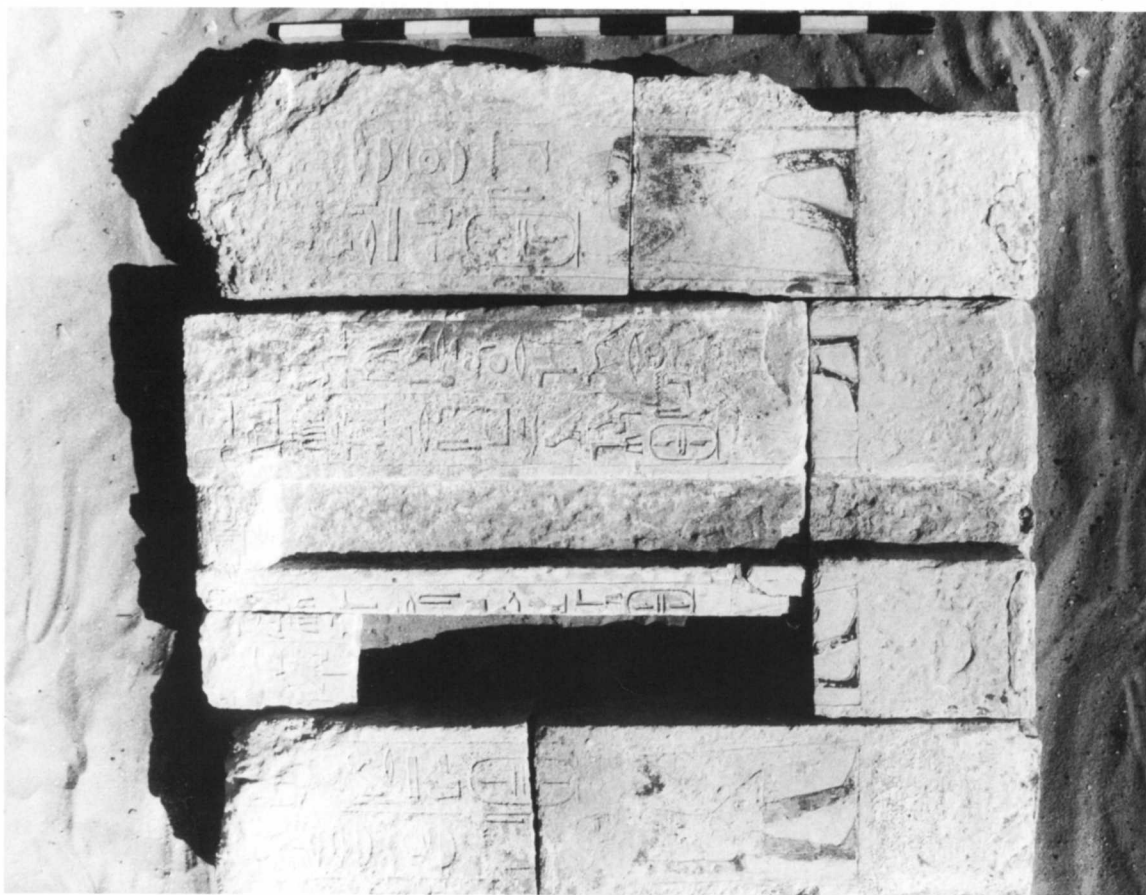
Pl. XXVIIIb – Entrance into the tomb of Rahotep, looking south



Pl. XXIXa – Open court and the chapel of Izeziseneb, looking west



Pl. XXIXb – False door of Izeziseneb *in situ*



Pl. XXXa – False door of Izeziseneb after restoration



Pl. XXXb – False door of Izeziseneb, detail



Pl. XXXIa – False door of Izeziseneb, detail



Pl. XXXIb – Open court and the entrance into the chapel of Rahotep, looking south



Pl. XXXIIa – Corridor chapel of Rahotep, looking north



Pl. XXXIIb – False door of Rahotep



Pl. XXXIIIa – False door of Rahotep, detail



Pl. XXXIIIb – False door of Rahotep, detail



Pl. XXXIVa – False door of Rahotep, detail



Pl. XXXIVb – False door of Rahotep, detail



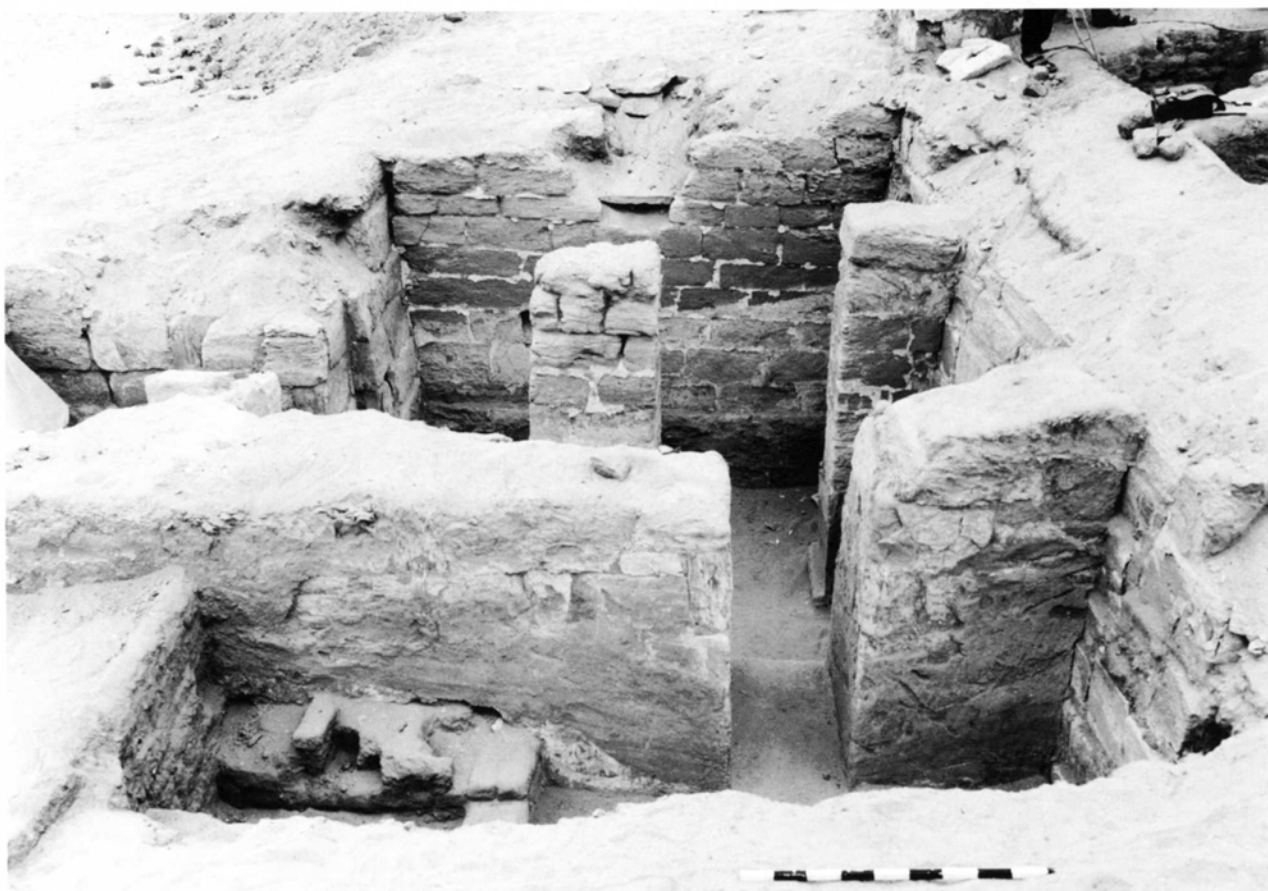
Pl. XXXVa – Excav. No. 3/DD/91



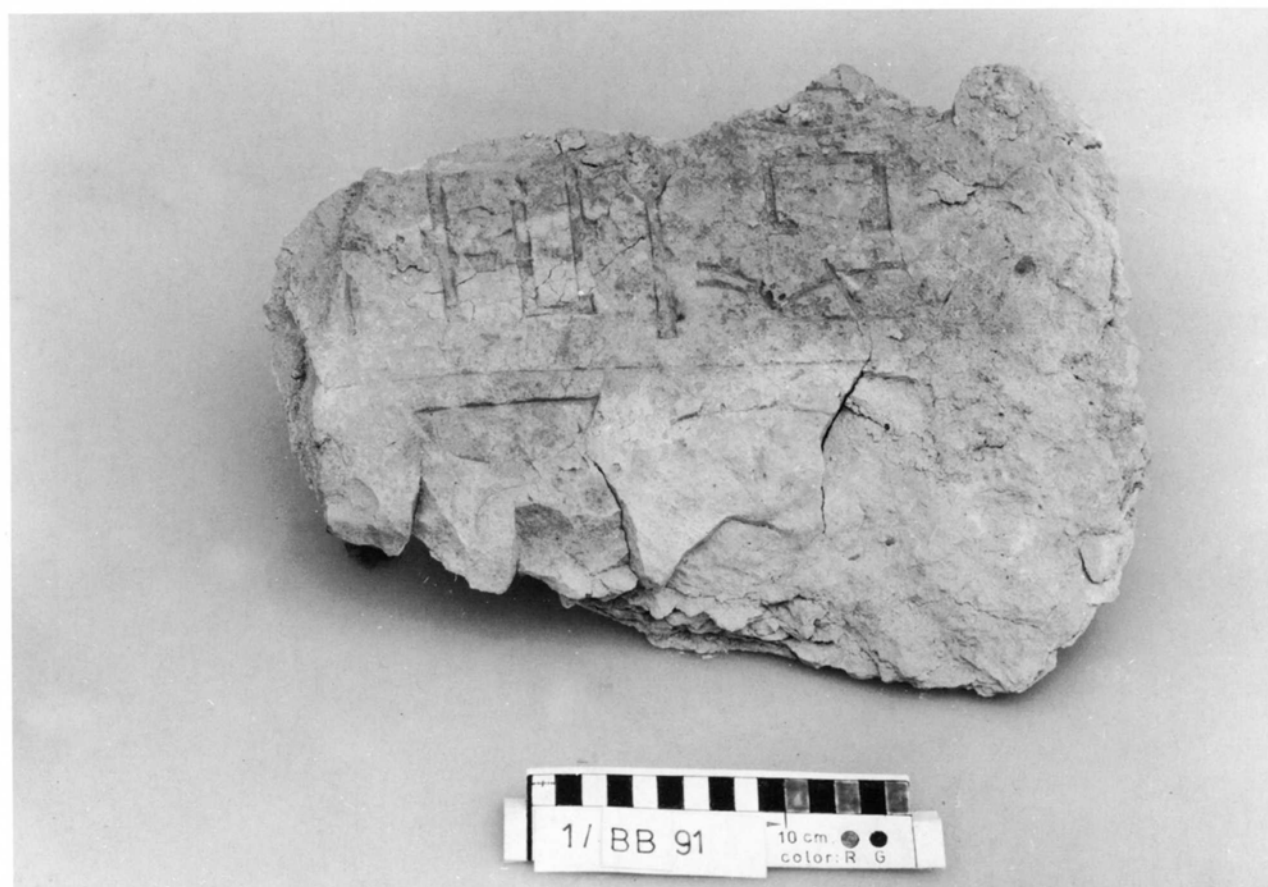
Pl. XXXVb – Excav. No. 4/DD/91



Pl. XXXVc – View of the tomb of Fetekty, looking northeast



Pl. XXXVIa – The entrance and the court in the tomb of Fetekty, looking west



Pl. XXXVIb – Excav. No. 1/BB/91



Pl. XXXVIIa – Court in the tomb of Fetekty, looking east



Pl. XXXVIIb – Western part of the north wall in 1991



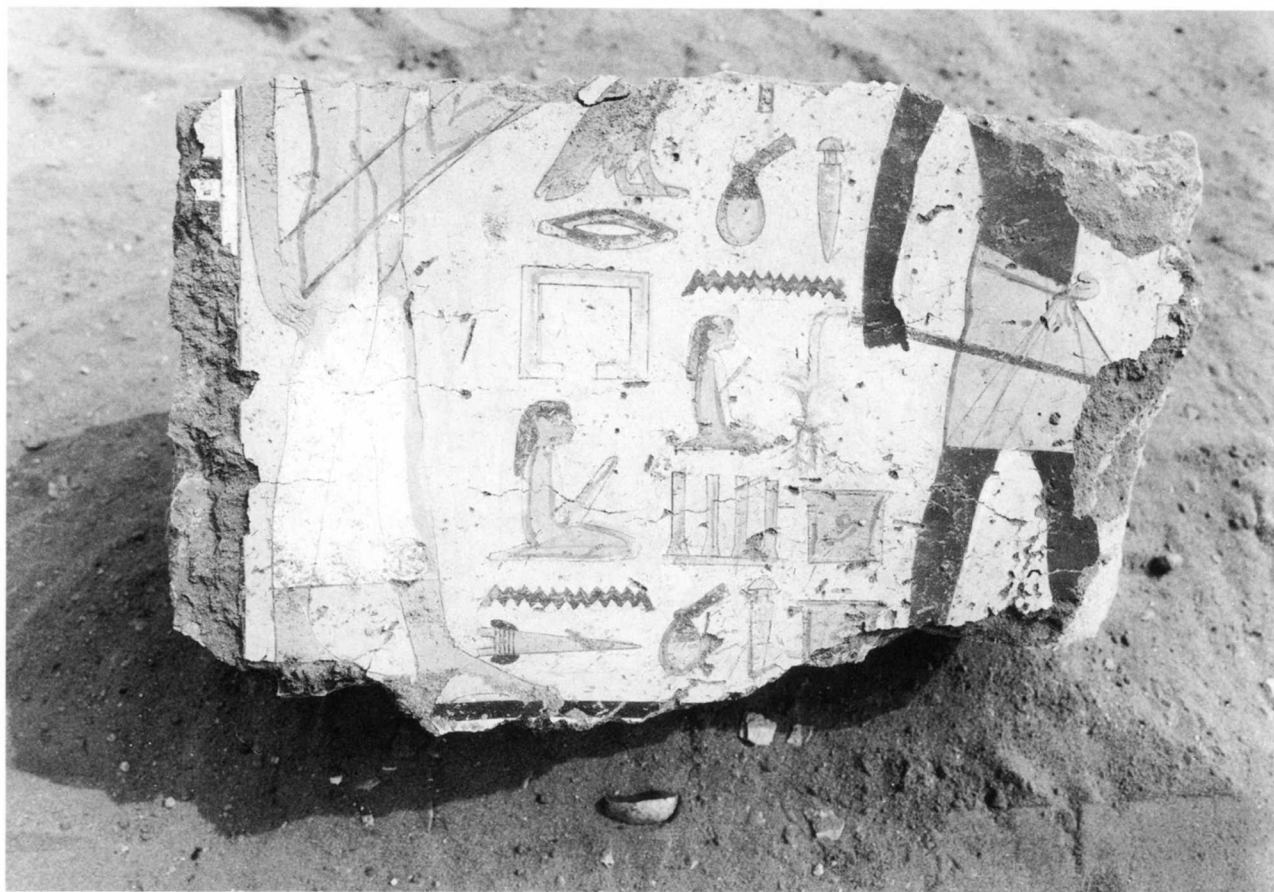
Pl. XXXVIIIa – North wall of the pillar in 1991



Pl. XXXVIIIb – Loose block 1



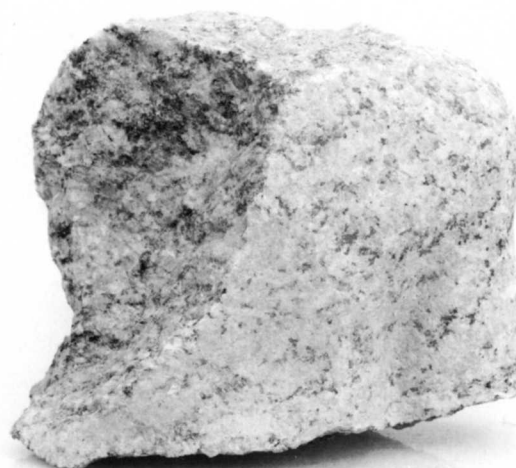
Pl. XXXIXa – Loose block 2



Pl. XXXIXb – Loose block 3



Pl. XLa – Excav. No. 2/BB/91



Pl. XLb – Excav. No. 2/BB/91, view from behind



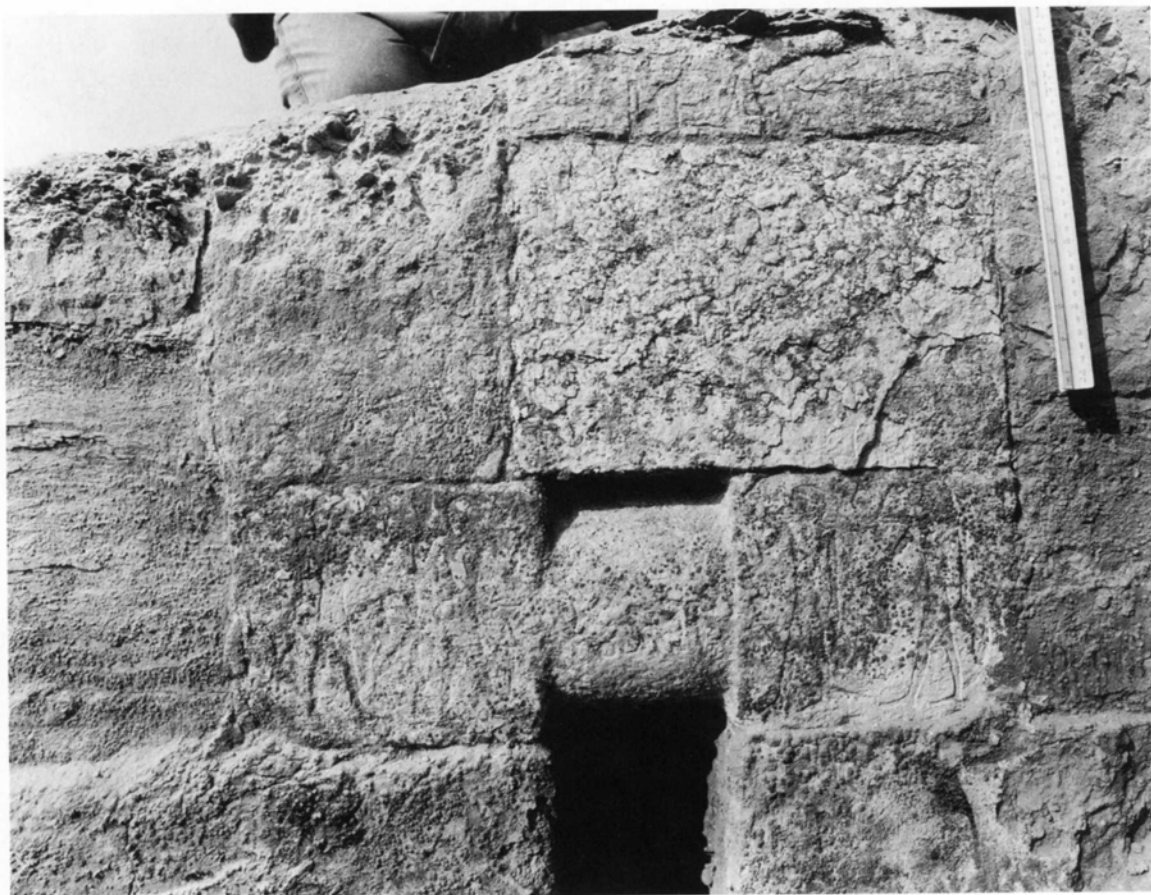
Pl. XLc – West wall decoration (to the south of the false door of Fetekty)



Pl. XLla – Central part of the false door of Fetekty



Pl. XLlb – False door of Mety



Pl. XLIIa – False door of Mety



Pl. XLIIb – West wall decoration (to the north of the false door of Mety)



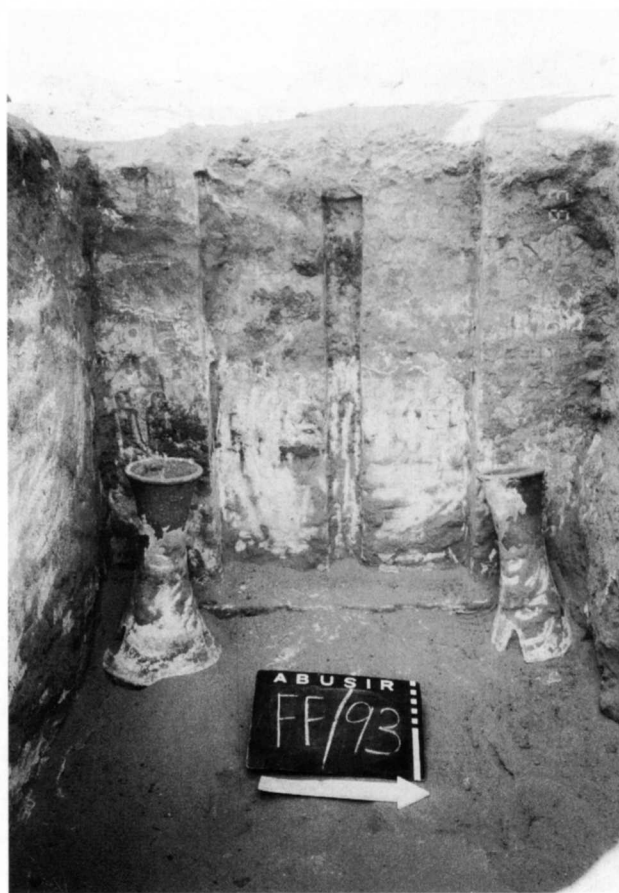
Pl. XLIIIa – West wall decoration (to the north of the false door of Mety)



Pl. XLIIIb – Burial chamber of Fetekty



Pl. XLIVa – Lesser tomb adjacent to the cemetery of Fetekty, looking south



Pl. XLIVb-c – Tomb II, false door of Gegi



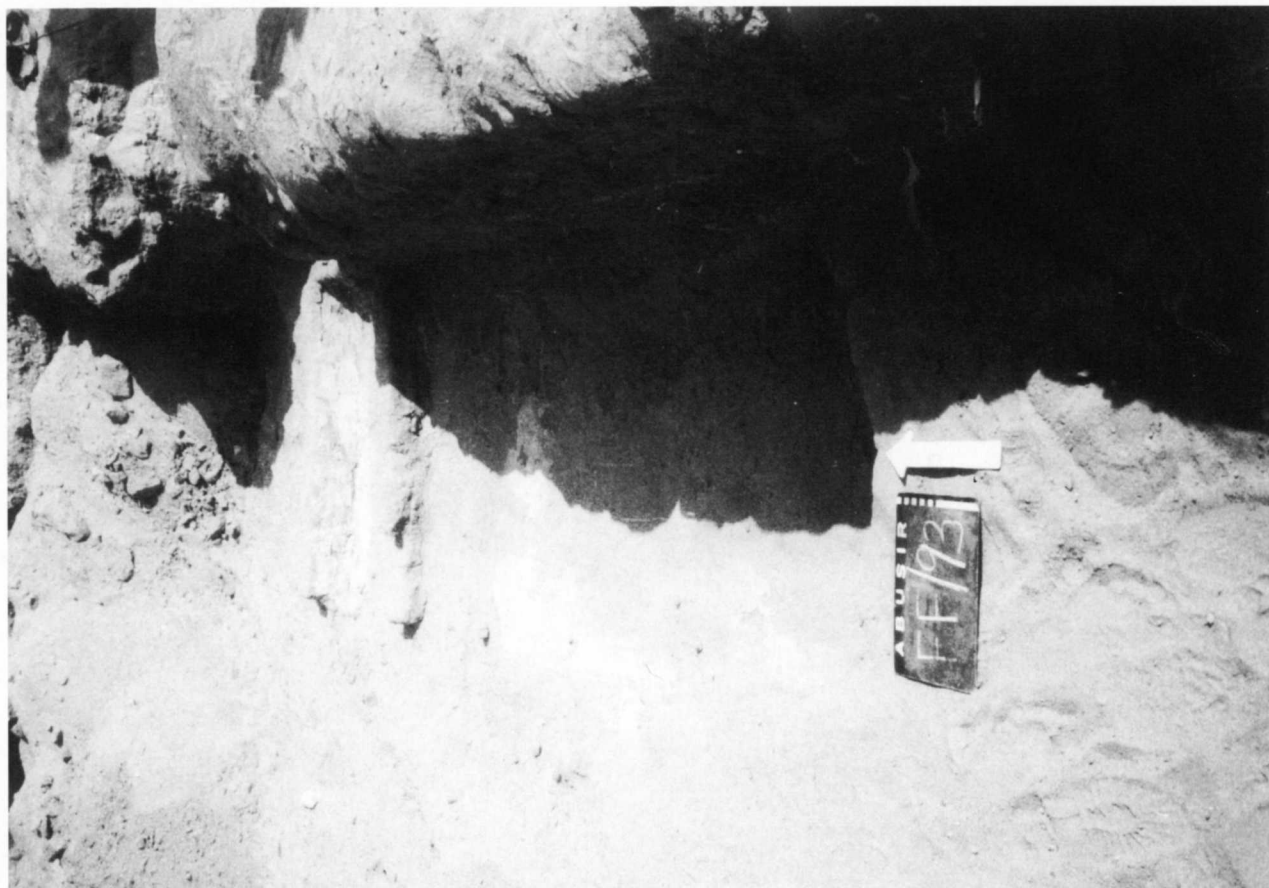
Pl. XLVa – Tomb II, false door of Gegi



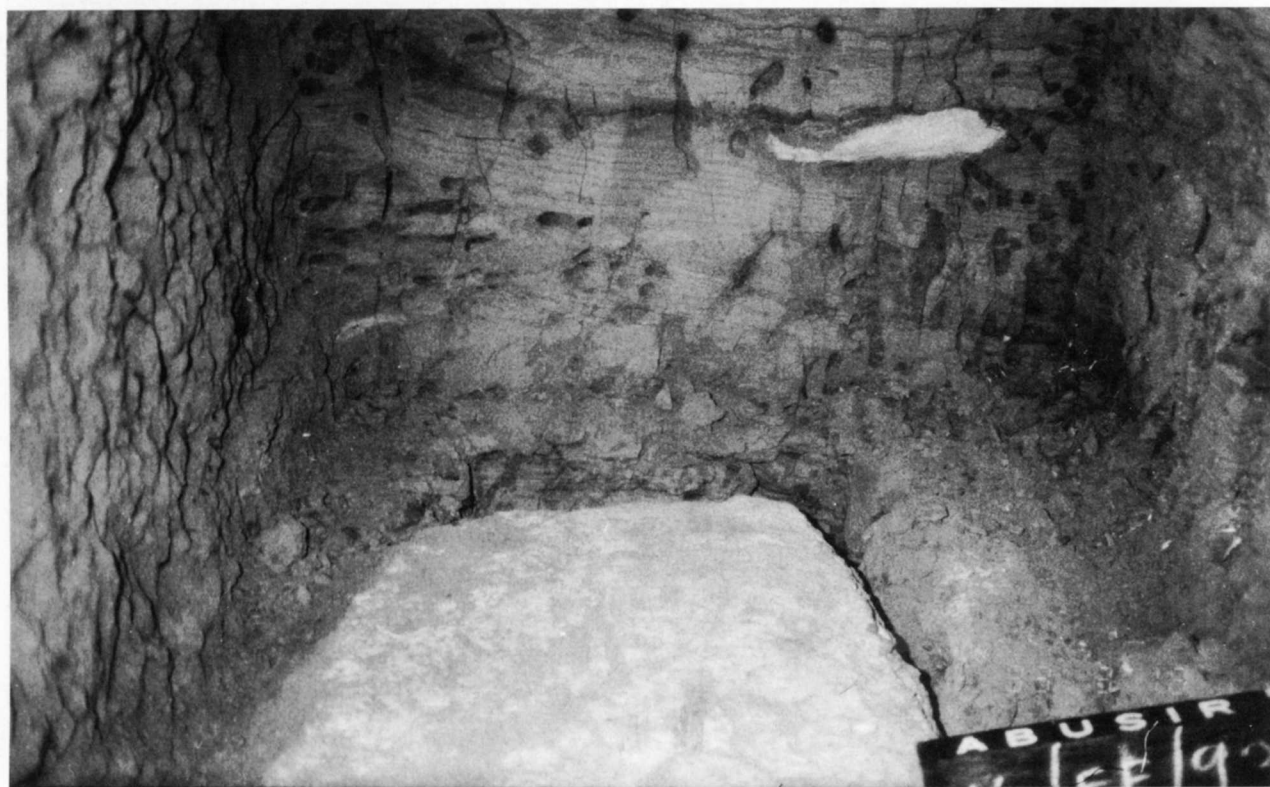
Pl. XLVb – Tomb II, false door of Gegi, left jamb, detail



Pl. XLVc – Tomb II, false door of Gegi, right jamb, detail



Pl. XLVIa – Tomb IV, Basin 1, looking north



Pl. XLVIb – Tomb I, burial chamber of Shaft 3



Pl. XLVIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, looking north



Pl. XLVIIb - Tomb of Kaaper in 1989, looking south



Pl. XLVIIIa - Chapel of Kaaper in 1989,
looking southeast



Pl. XLVIIIb - Chapel of Kaaper in 1989, east wall



Pl. XLVIIIc - Chapel of Kaaper after cleaning in 1989, looking southeast



Pl. XLIXa - View of the tomb of Kaaper with a screening wall in front of the chapel, looking southwest



Pl. XLIXb - Corridor leading into the chapel of Kaaper from the north with the stone wall in the centre



Pl. La - Northern part of the tomb of Kaaper with a courtyard and the secondary structures on the left (Tomb 2)



Pl. Lb - Northern niche of the tomb of Kaaper



Pl. LIa - Beer jars found in the refuse area to the north of the chapel of Kaaper



Pl. LIb - Tomb of Kaaper, entrance into the chapel, looking northwest



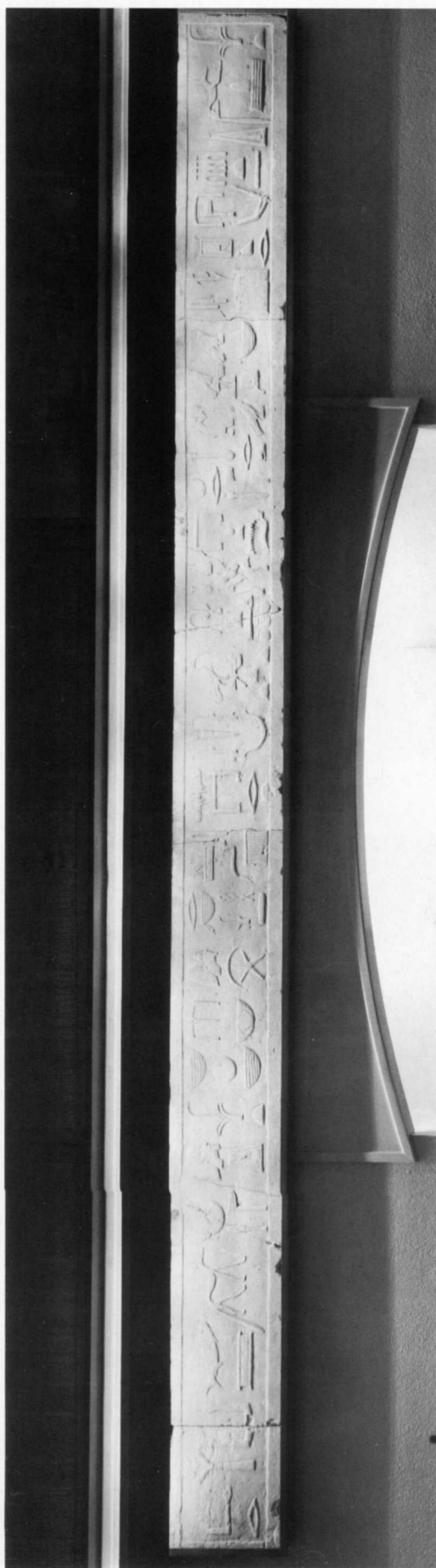
Pl. LIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, northern jamb of the entrance



Pl. LIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 1



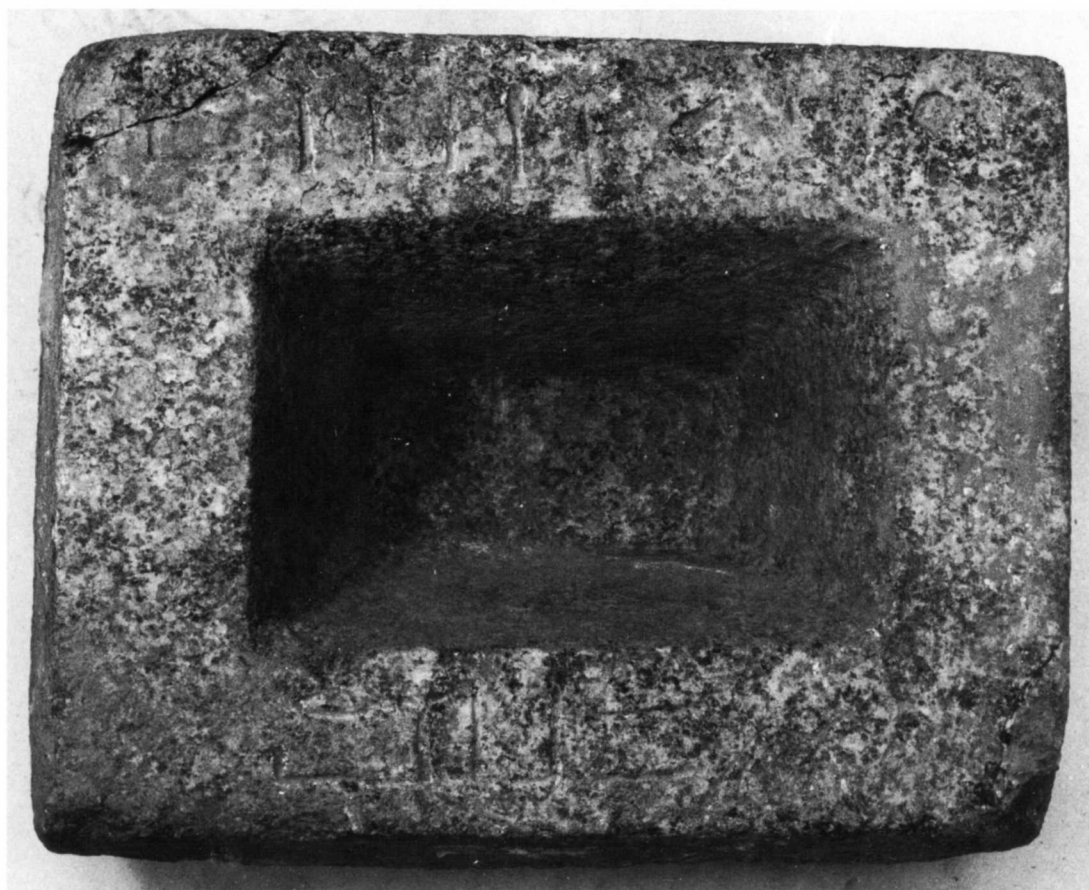
Pl. LIIc - Tomb of Kaaper, northern entrance thickness, looking northwest



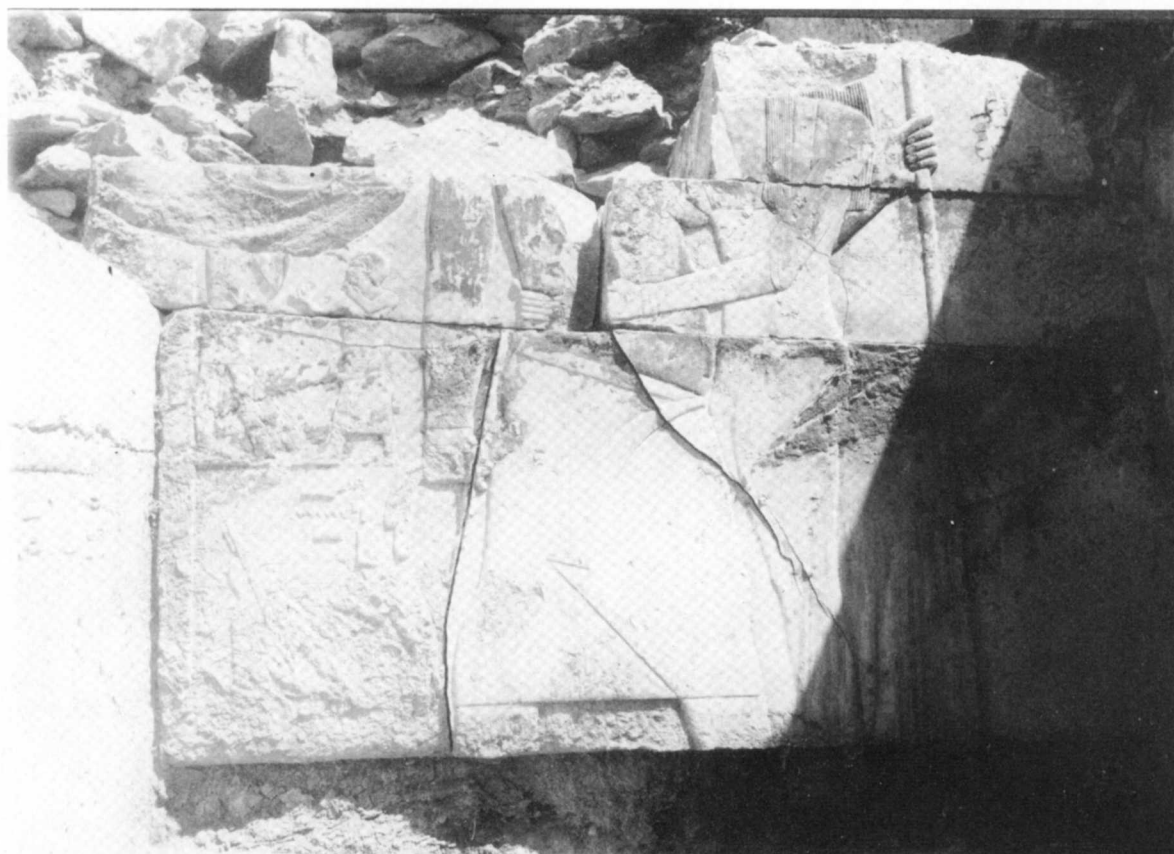
Pl. LIII - Tomb of Kaaper, entrance lintel (Courtesy Fondation Martin Bodmer, Geneva)



Pl. LIVa - Tomb of Kaaper, floor of the chapel with the libation basin *in situ*



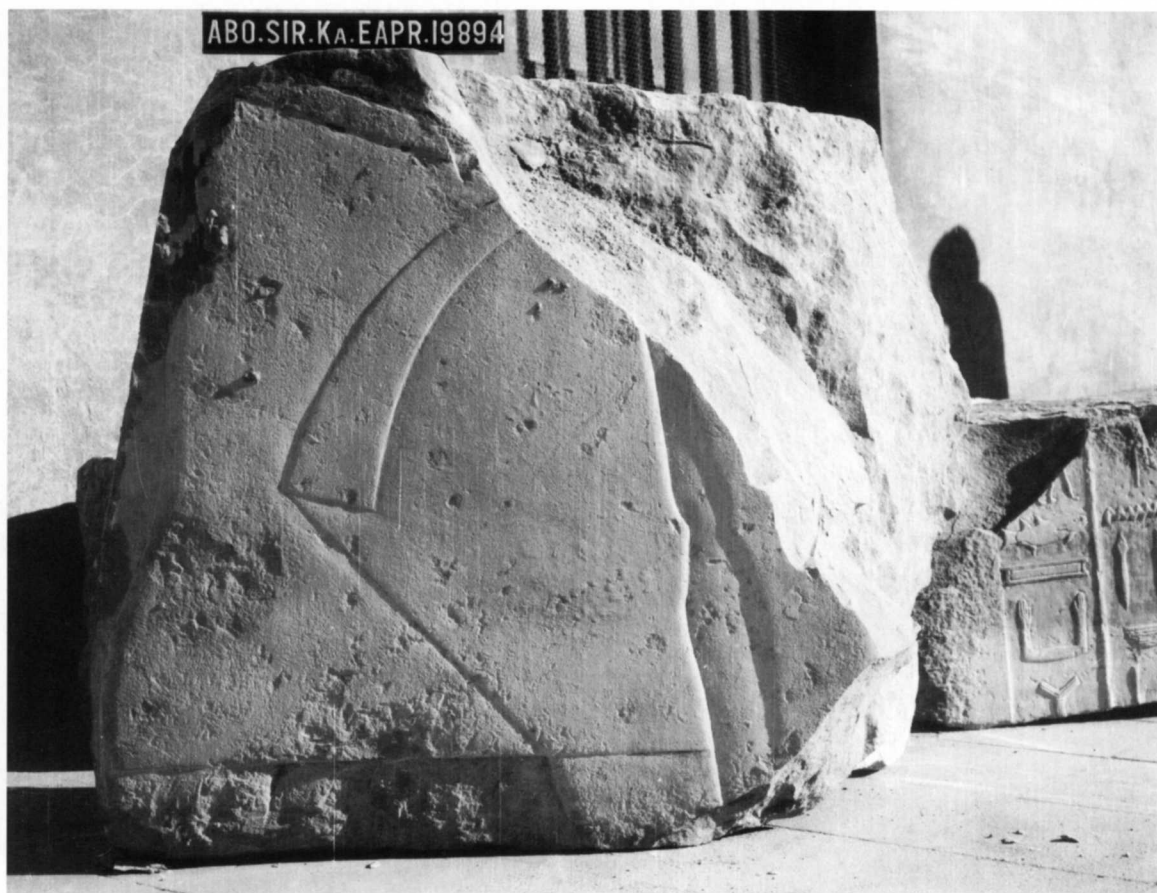
Pl. LIVb - Tomb of Kaaper, Excav. No. 23/AA/91



Pl. LVa - Tomb of Kaaper, north wall of the chapel as published by Fischer in 1959 (Courtesy of The University of Chicago Press, after Fischer, *JNES* 18/4, 1959, pl. 6)



Pl. LVb - Tomb of Kaaper, north wall of the chapel



Pl. LVIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 3



Pl. LVIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 8



Pl. LVIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 8 and 12 (Loose block 10 was originally part of Loose block 12)



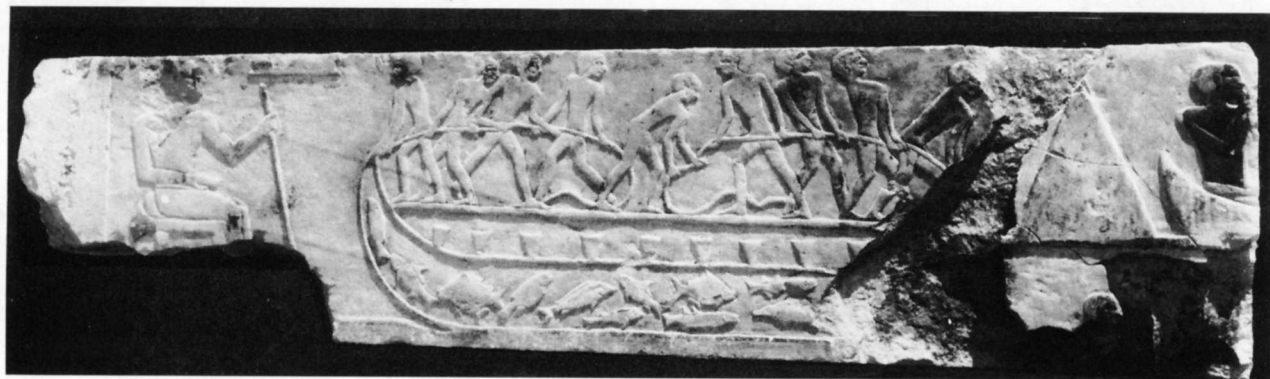
Pl. LVIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 12



Pl. LVIIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 4 as it looked in 1989



Pl. LVIIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 4 as it looked in 1991



Pl. LIXa - Tomb of Kaaper, east wall, part above the entrance into the chapel as published by Fischer in 1959
(Courtesy of The University of Chicago Press, after Fischer, *JNES* 18/4, 1959, pl. 7)



Pl. LIXb - Tomb of Kaaper, block from the east wall above the entrance into the chapel (MMA Museum Negative 170618, Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Pl. LXa - Tomb of Kaaper, east wall of the chapel



Pl. LXb - Tomb of Kaaper, east wall of the chapel, detail



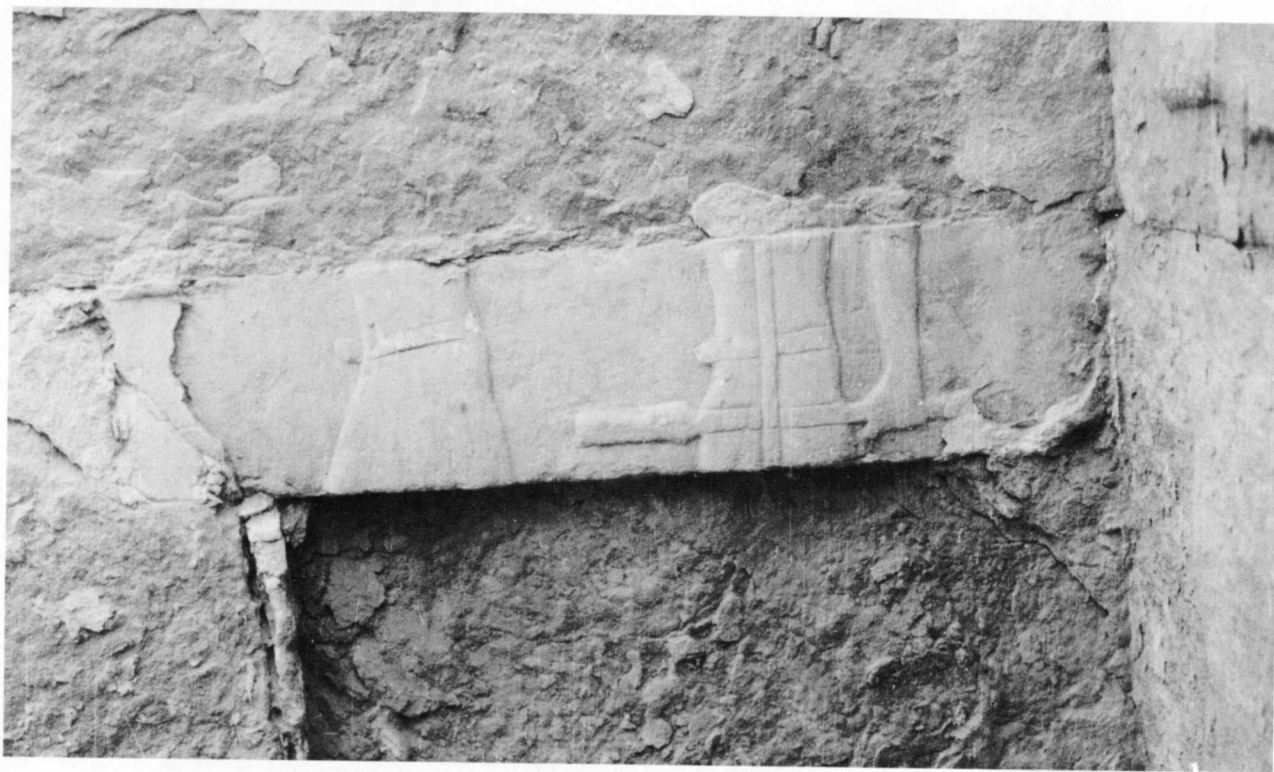
Pl. LXIa - Tomb of Kaaper, east wall of the chapel, detail



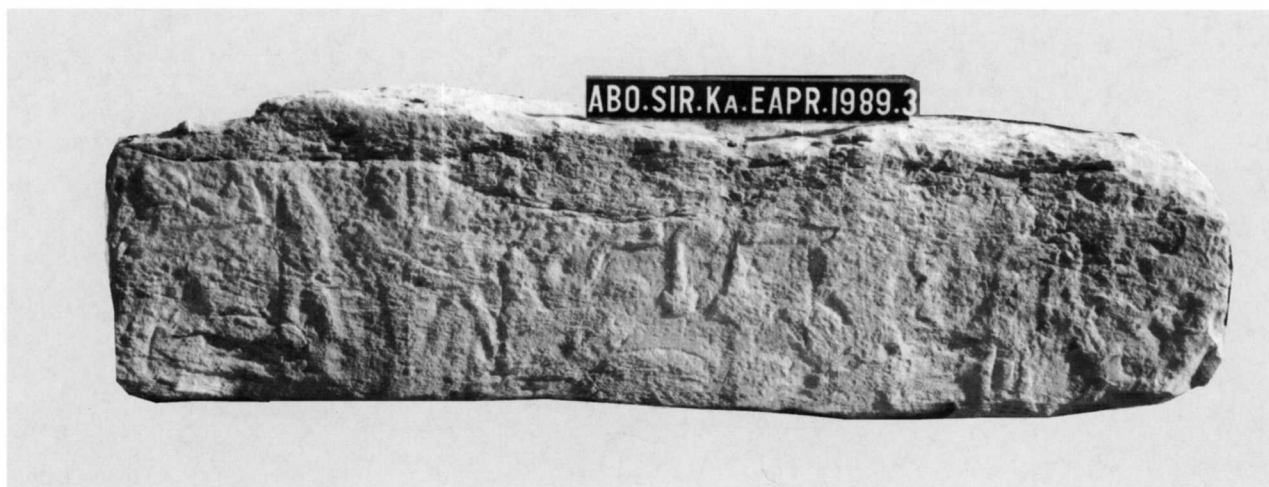
Pl. LXIb - Tomb of Kaaper, east wall of the chapel, detail



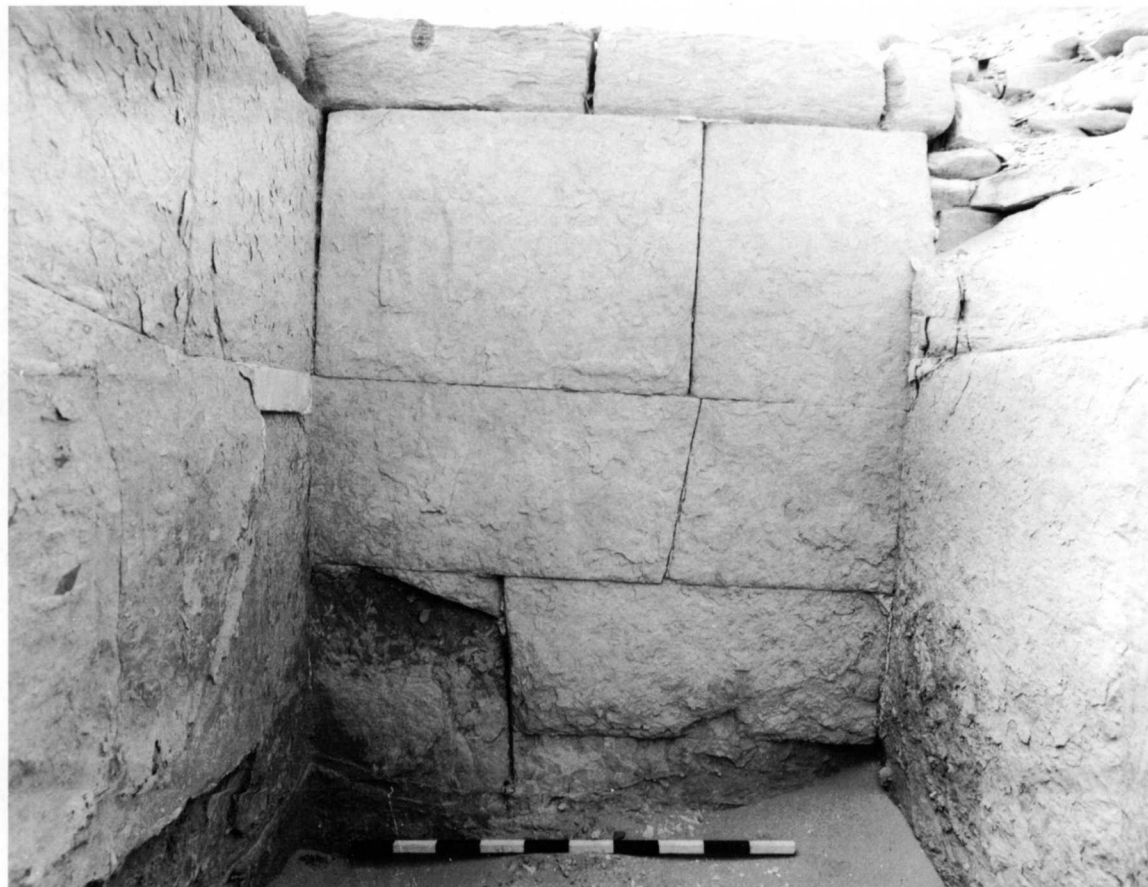
Pl. LXIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, east wall of the chapel, detail



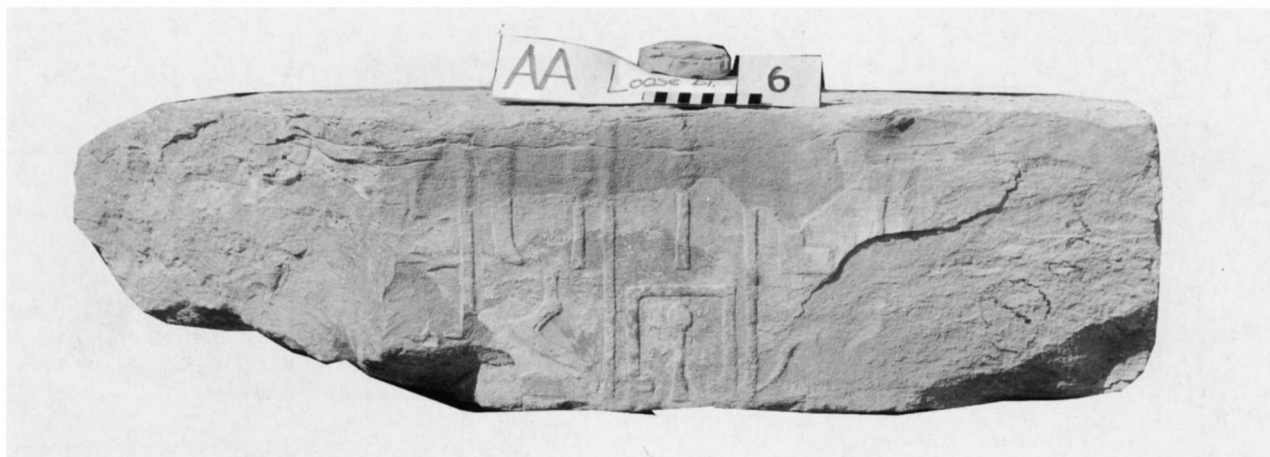
Pl. LXIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, east wall of the chapel, detail



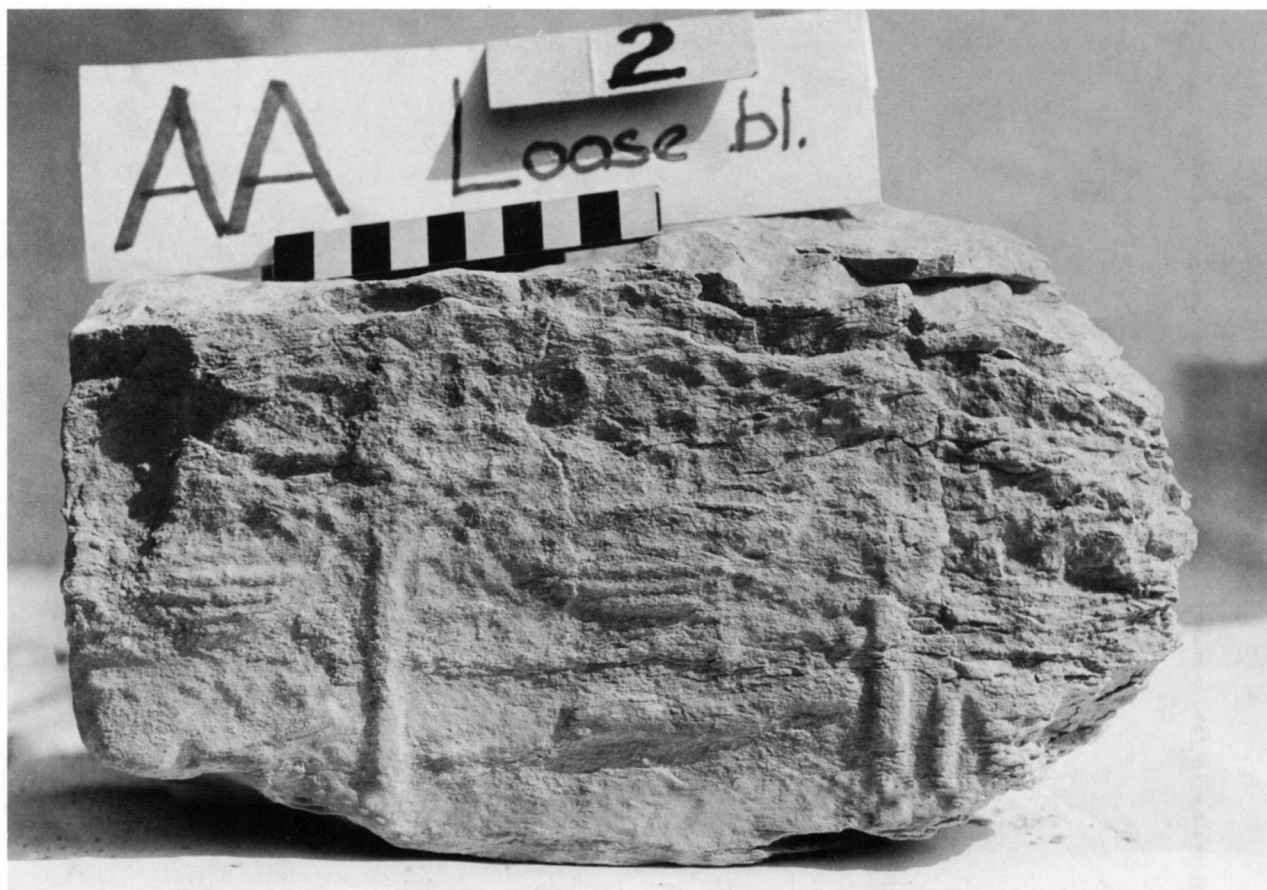
Pl. LXIIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 9



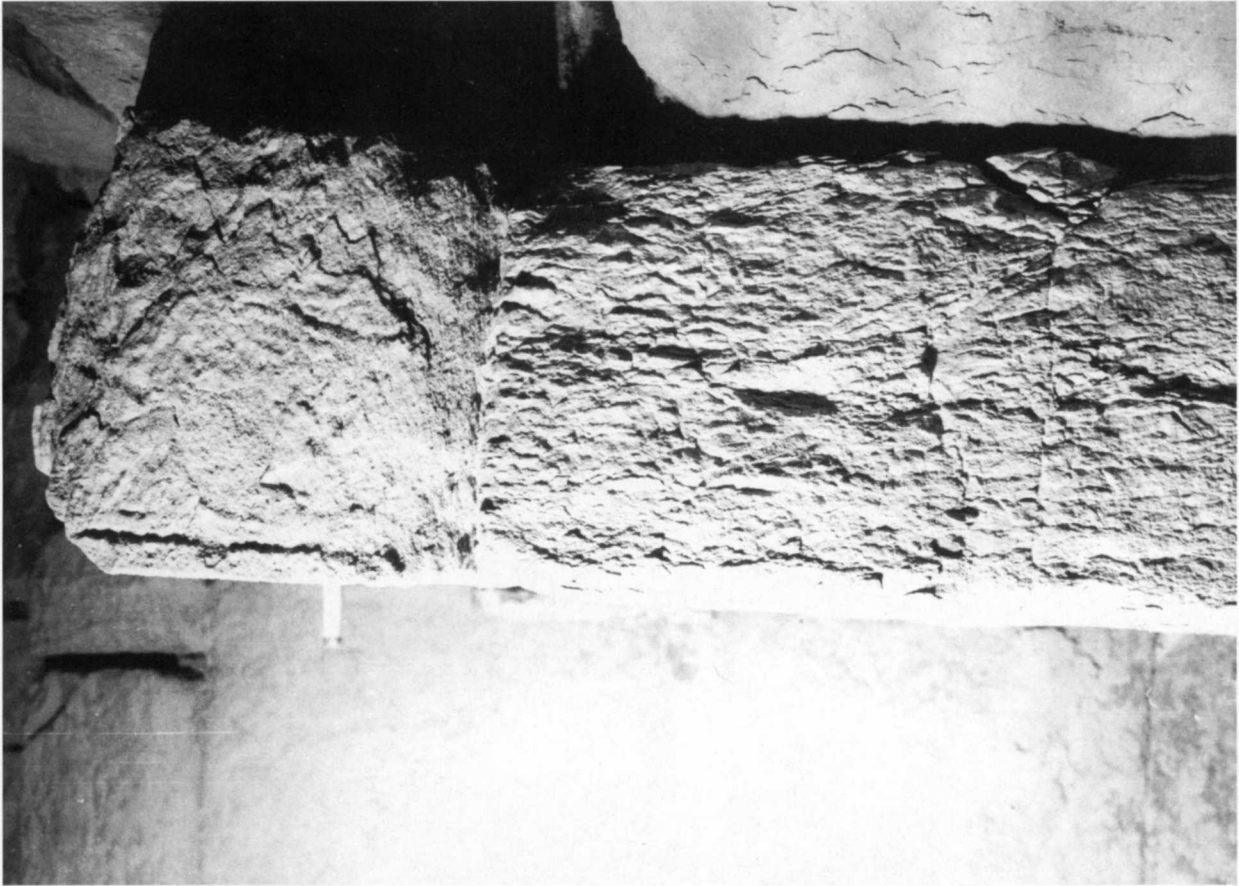
Pl. LXIIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, south wall of the chapel



Pl. LXIVa - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 6



Pl. LXIVb - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 2



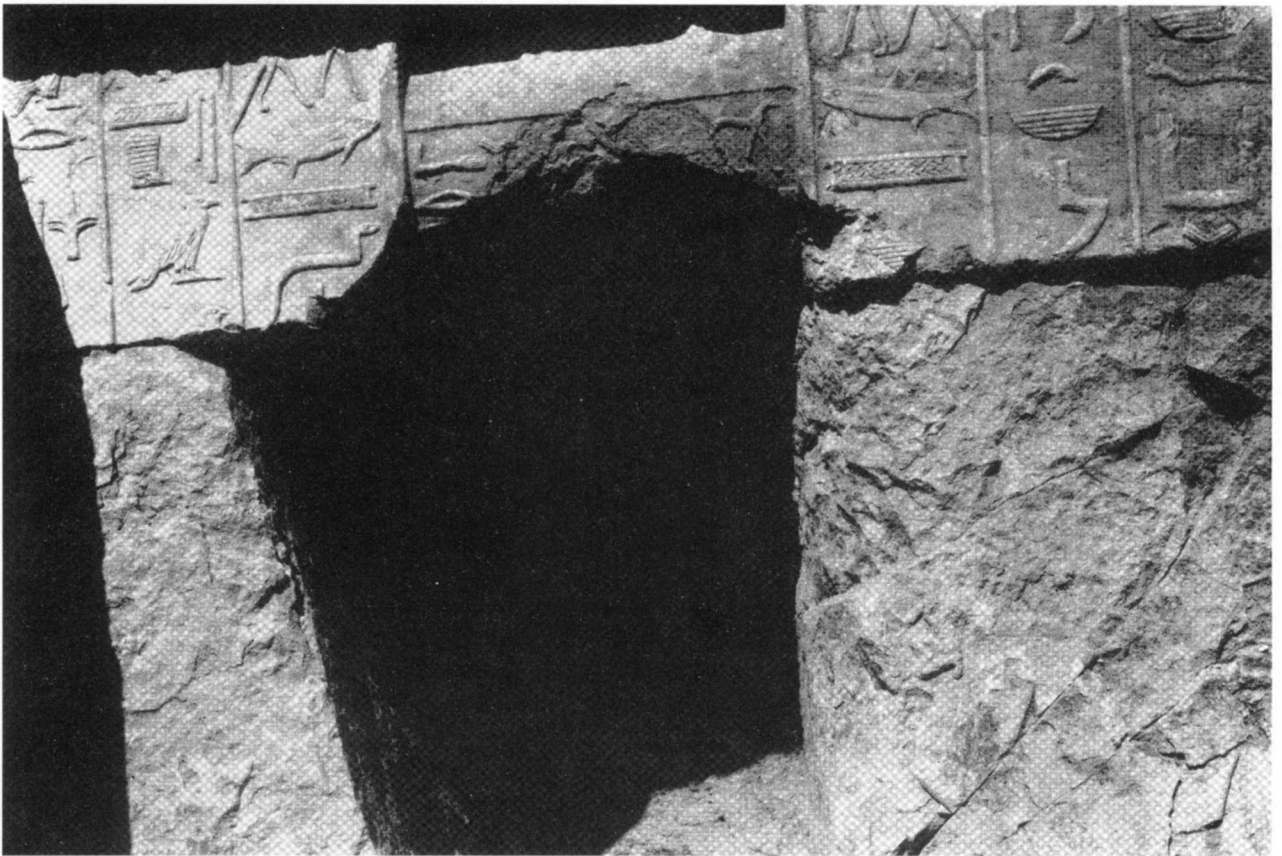
Pl. LXVa - Tomb of Kaaper, southern thickness of the outer false door niche



Pl. LXVb - Tomb of Kaaper, false door as it looked in 1991



Pl. LXVIa - Tomb of Kaaper, false door, detail



Pl. LXVIb - Tomb of Kaaper, false door - detail of the drum and jambs as published in 1959
(Courtesy of The University of Chicago Press, after Fischer, *JNES* 18/4, 1959, pl. 5)

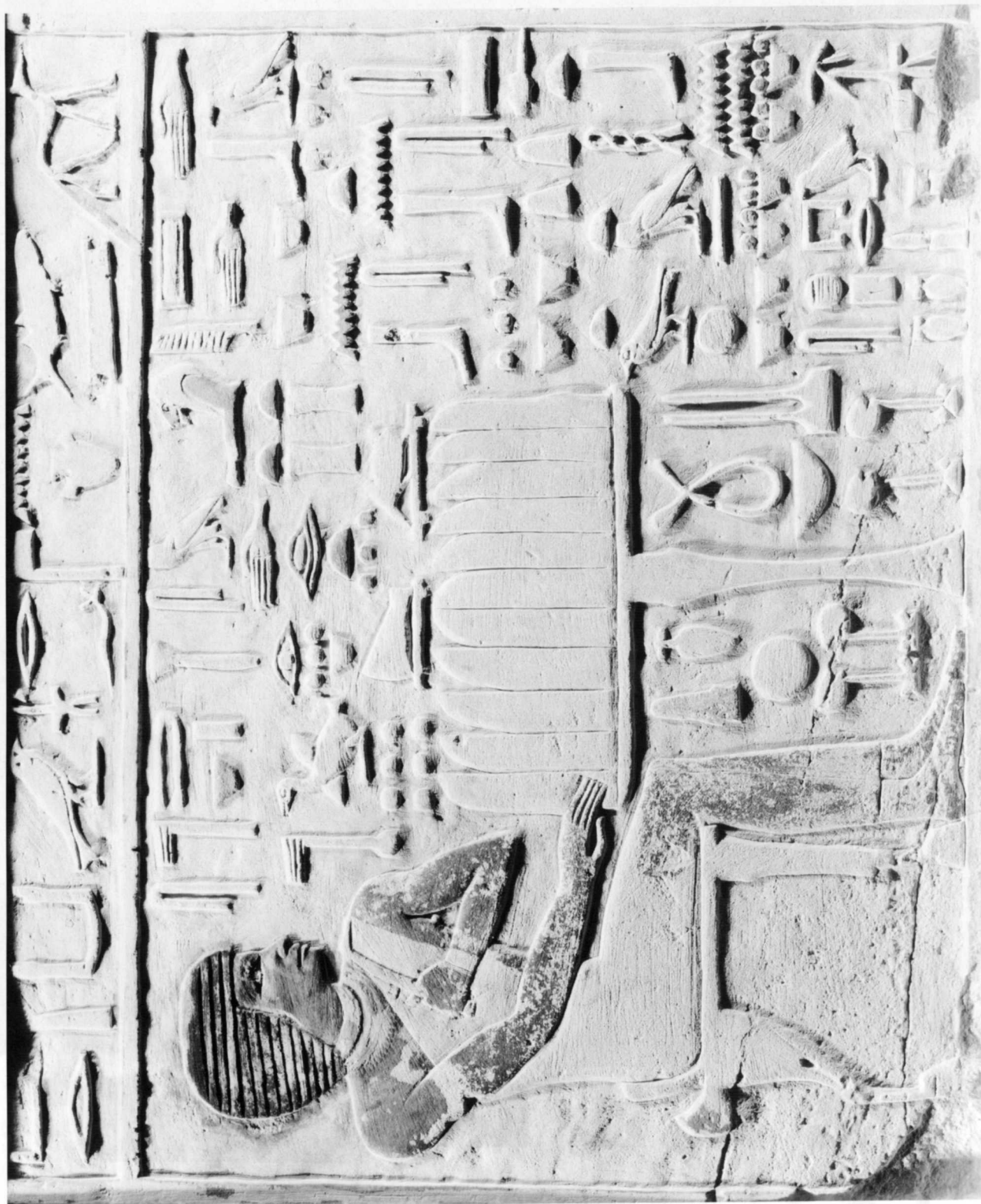




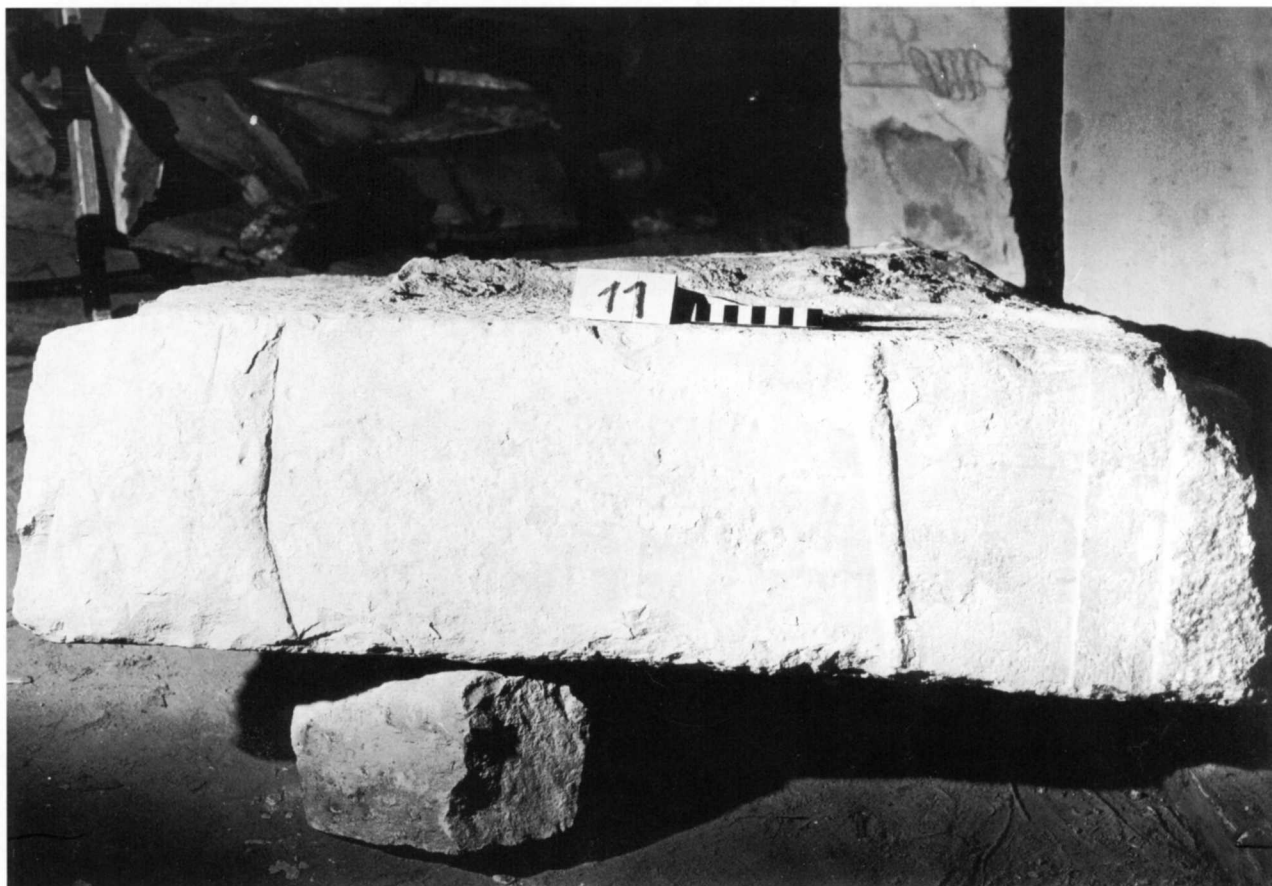
Pl. LXVIIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 5



Pl. LXVIIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 7



Pl. LXIX - Tomb of Kaaper, central false door panel (Courtesy Detroit Institute of Arts, Ac. No. 57.58)



Pl. LXXa - Tomb of Kaaper, Loose block 11



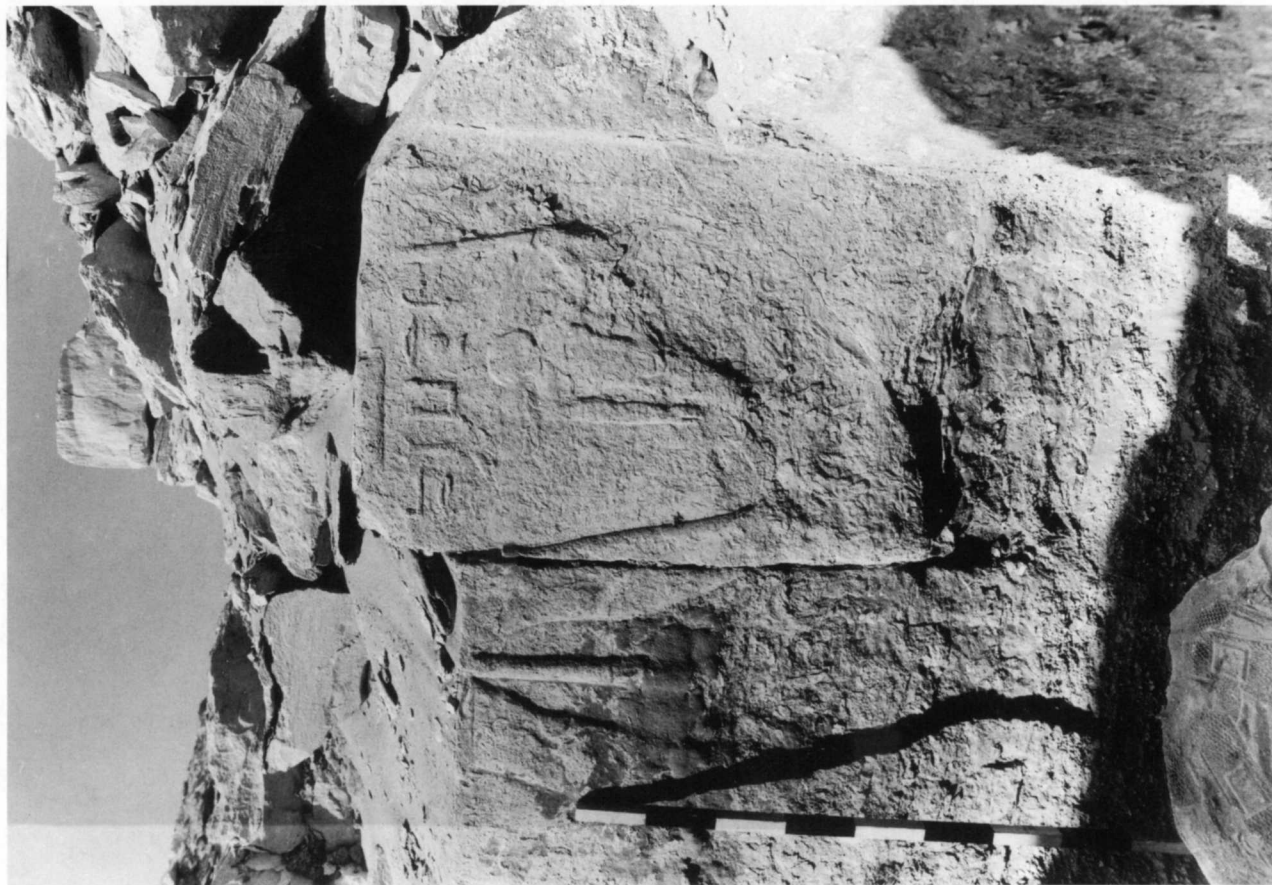
Pl. LXXb - Tomb of Kaaper, Excav. No. 21/AA/91



Pl. LXXI - Tomb of Kaaper, western wall decoration (Courtesy of the The Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas, Nelson Fund 46-33)



Pl. LXXIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, western wall *in situ*



Pl. LXXIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, western wall *in situ*



Pl. LXXIIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, beer jars found at the entrance into the chapel



Pl. LXXIIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, miniature plates



Pl. LXXIVa - Tomb of Kaaper, miniature bowls



Pl. LXXIVb - Tomb of Kaaper, reassembled entrance drum



Pl. LXXVa - Tomb of Kaaper, Tomb 2



Pl. LXXVb - Tomb of Kaaper, Excav. No. 3/AA/91



Pl. LXXVIa - Tomb of Kaaper, Excav. No. 14/AA/91

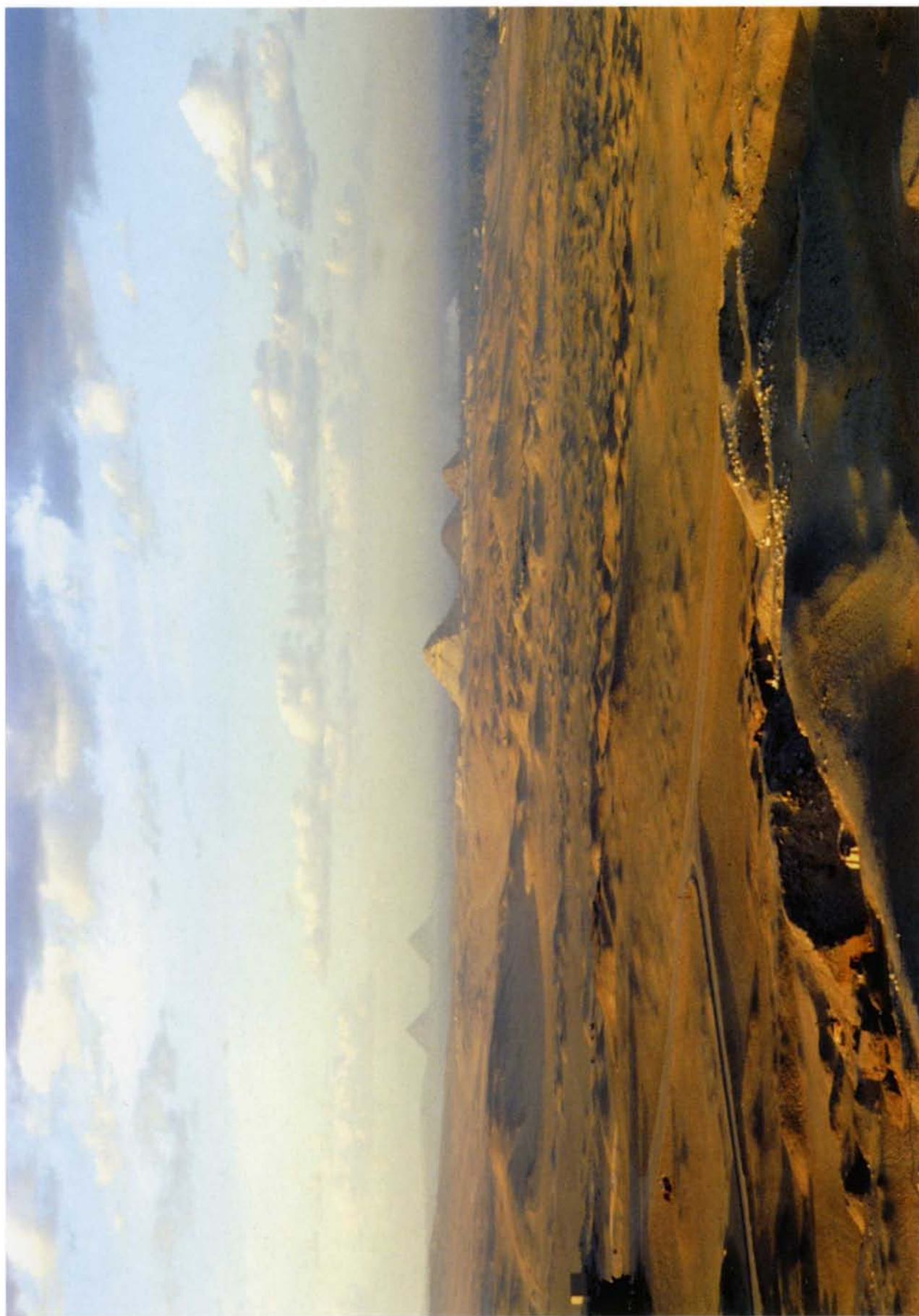


Pl. LXXVIb - Tomb of Kaaper, Excav. No. 13/AA/91



Pl. LXXVIc - Tomb of Kaaper, Excav. No. 20/AA/91

COLOUR PLATES



Pl. LXXVII - The area of Abusir South. Looking north from the top of the pyramid of Djoser



Pl. LXXVIIIa - The area of Abusir South with the tomb of Ity and Kaaper (looking west)



Pl. LXXVIIIb - Abusir South, the supposed location of the excavations by Z. M. Nour (looking southeast)



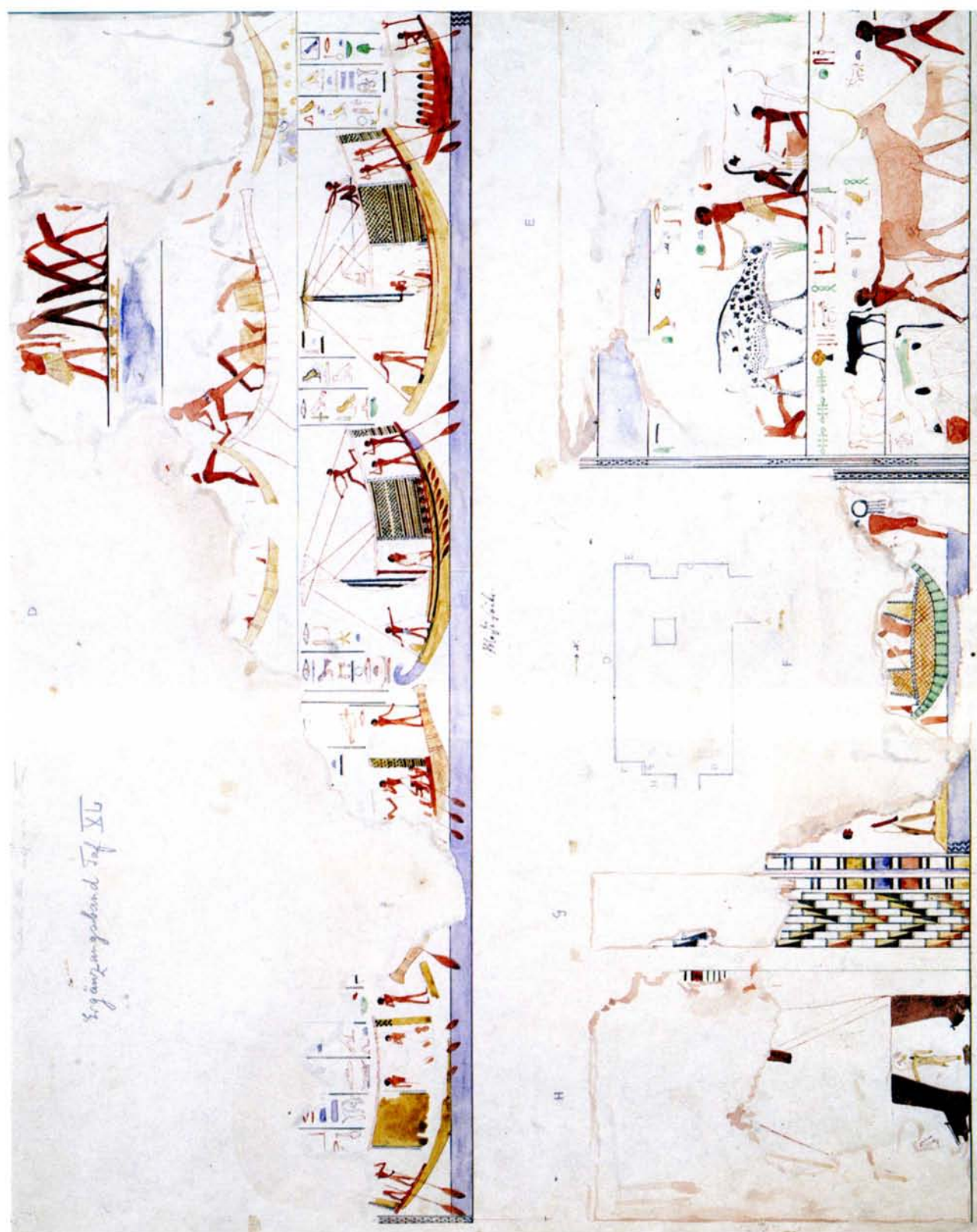
Pl. LXXIX - Lake of Abusir, Tomb of Shedwaset, Excav. No. 2a-c/LA-5/93



Pl. LXXXa - Lake of Abusir, Tomb of Sheduf, Excav. No. 2b/LA-5/93



Pl. LXXXb - Lake of Abusir, Tomb of Sheduf, Excav. No. 2c/LA-5/93



Pl. LXXXI - Tomb of Fetekty, documentation of the tomb decoration made by the Lepsius expedition
(Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung,
Inv.-Nr. AdW 395, Foto: M. Büsing)



Pl. LXXXII - Tomb of Fetekty, documentation of the tomb decoration made by the Lepsius expedition
 (Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung,
 Inv.-Nr. AdW 396, Foto: M. Büsing)



Pl. LXXXIII - Tomb of Fetekty, documentation of the tomb decoration made by the Lepsius expedition (Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv.-Nr. AdW 394, Foto: M. Büsing)



a)



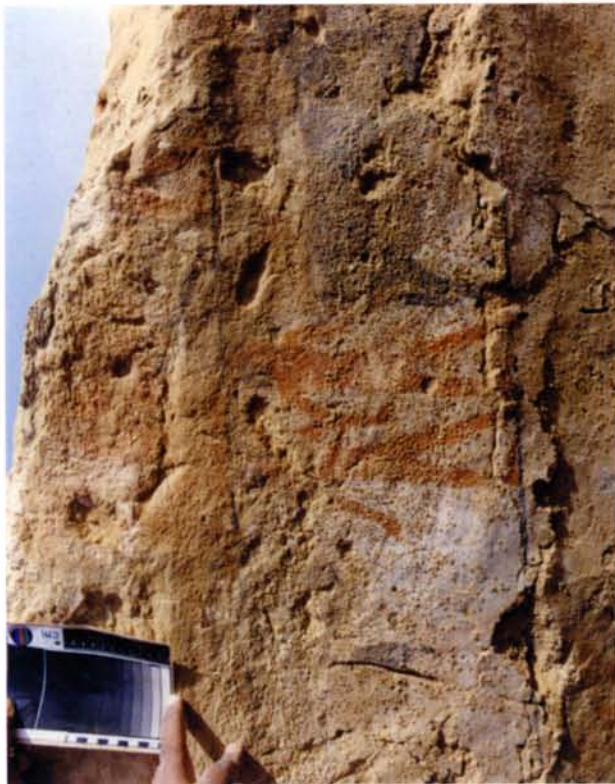
b)



c)



d)



a)



b)



c)



d)

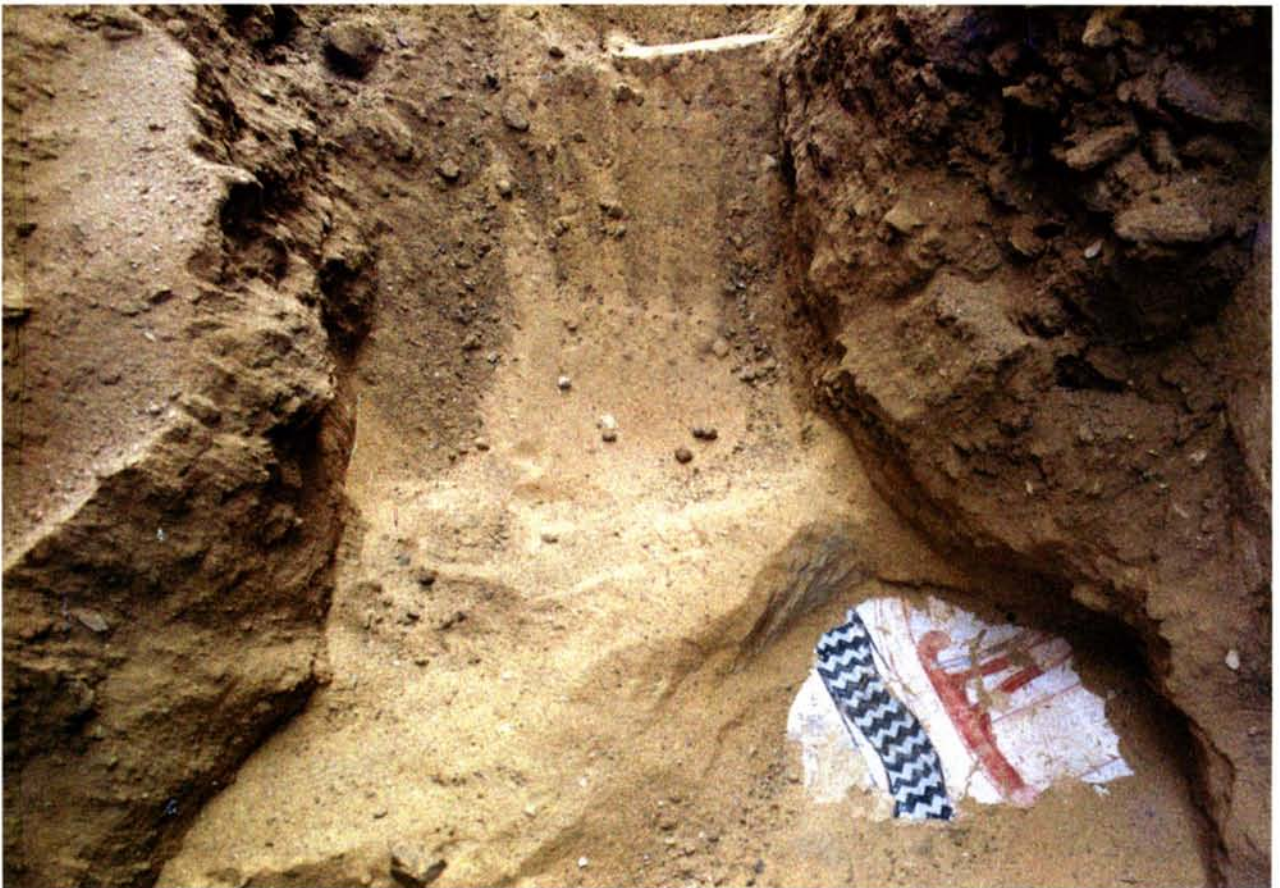
Pl. LXXXV - Tomb of Fetekty, details of the chapel decoration: east wall (a), west wall, south of the false door (b), false door of Fetekty (c) and the burial ceremony (d)



Pl. LXXXVI - Tomb of Kaaper, central false door panel (Courtesy Detroit Institute of Arts 57.78)



Pl. LXXXVIIa - Lintel from the tomb of Kaaper that was found in Saqqara in 1994
(Courtesy I. Mathieson and the National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Project expedition)



Pl. LXXXVIIb - Tomb of Fetekty, west wall of the chapel, fragment of the burial ceremony scene



Pl. LXXXVIIIa - Tomb of Kaaper, detail of the facade decoration *in situ*



Pl. LXXXVIIIb - Tomb of Kaaper, imported pottery from the burial chamber





Pl. LXXXIX - The site of Abusir, looking from the east.

Miroslav Bárta
ABUSIR V

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Front jacket: Tomb of Kaaper, central false door panel, (Courtesy Detroit Institute of Arts, Ac. No. 57.58)

Back jacket: Tomb of Kaaper, north wall of the chapel. Drawing of the original decoration
(with kind permission of H. G. Fischer)

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